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The emergence of the "Thughūr": The Arab-Byzantine frontier in the early 'Abbāsid age

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The Emergence of the Thughūr: the Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Early `Abbāsid Age

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation deals with the Arab-Byzantine frontier district, which at some time became known as the *thughūr*, from the beginning of ʿAbbāsid rule until the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd (132-193/750-809). It emphasizes the place of the *thughūr* within Islamic society and government.

In many of the sources (such as chronicles, geographical works, ḥadīth, and biography), there is a tendency to idealization of matters having to do with the *thughūr* and with jihād. But in much of this material we may detect an underlying conflict over the role of the Caliph in Islamic society.

Chapter I provides an introduction to the subject. It also presents the Arab geographers' accounts of the *thughūr*, and examines the peculiarly fixed, anachronistic picture which prevailed of the region in later generations.

Chapter II deals with the reigns of the first two ʿAbbāsid caliphs, Abū 'l-ʿAbbās (al-Saffāḥ) and Abū Jaʿfar (al-Manṣūr), and is largely devoted to problems of chronology. It emerges, however, that al-Manṣūr sought to maintain a balance in the area by rotating the great warlords through the *thughūr* (both in performing the yearly expeditions and in governing the area as it was rebuilt). He succeeded in this partly because of the loyalty of military men who had previously been "companions" of Marwān II in the "Umayyad North."

Chapter III covers the reigns of al-Mahdī, al-Hādī, and Hārūn al-Rashīd. Al-Mahdī's interest in jihād resulted in a stronger caliphal presence in the *thughūr*, and this trend increased during the reign of Hārūn. The central event of this chapter is the creation of the district of al-ʿAwāṣim. An old

numismatic puzzle, that of Hārūnābād and al-Hārūniyya, is solved, and casts some light on this event. The peculiar nature of this new district is examined, after an account of its administrative history.

Chapter IV takes up the problem of *ju'l*, or substitutes for the jihād. *Ju'l* breaks down into two varieties, which have become intertwined with one another apparently since the beginning: payments made by individuals to one another, and payments involving groups. This latter sense seems often to cover soldiers' wages paid by the government. This rather difficult question of *ju'l* is pursued through poetry, tafsīr, law books (the teachings of the early schools), and finally, the ḥadīth.

Chapter V, which is based on biographical sources, deals with the fairly numerous men of piety and learning who went to live in the *thughūr* at this time. Three men of the first generation of thaghrī scholars are singled out as exemplifying certain trends. The "schools" of the region are then mapped out, according to locality, from this time until the Byzantine reconquest. We find a tendency among the scholars, at least in the early period, to think of themselves (or to be thought of by others) as holders of genuine religious authority, in an area where the Caliph's power is somewhat limited.

Chapter VI provides a general conclusion.

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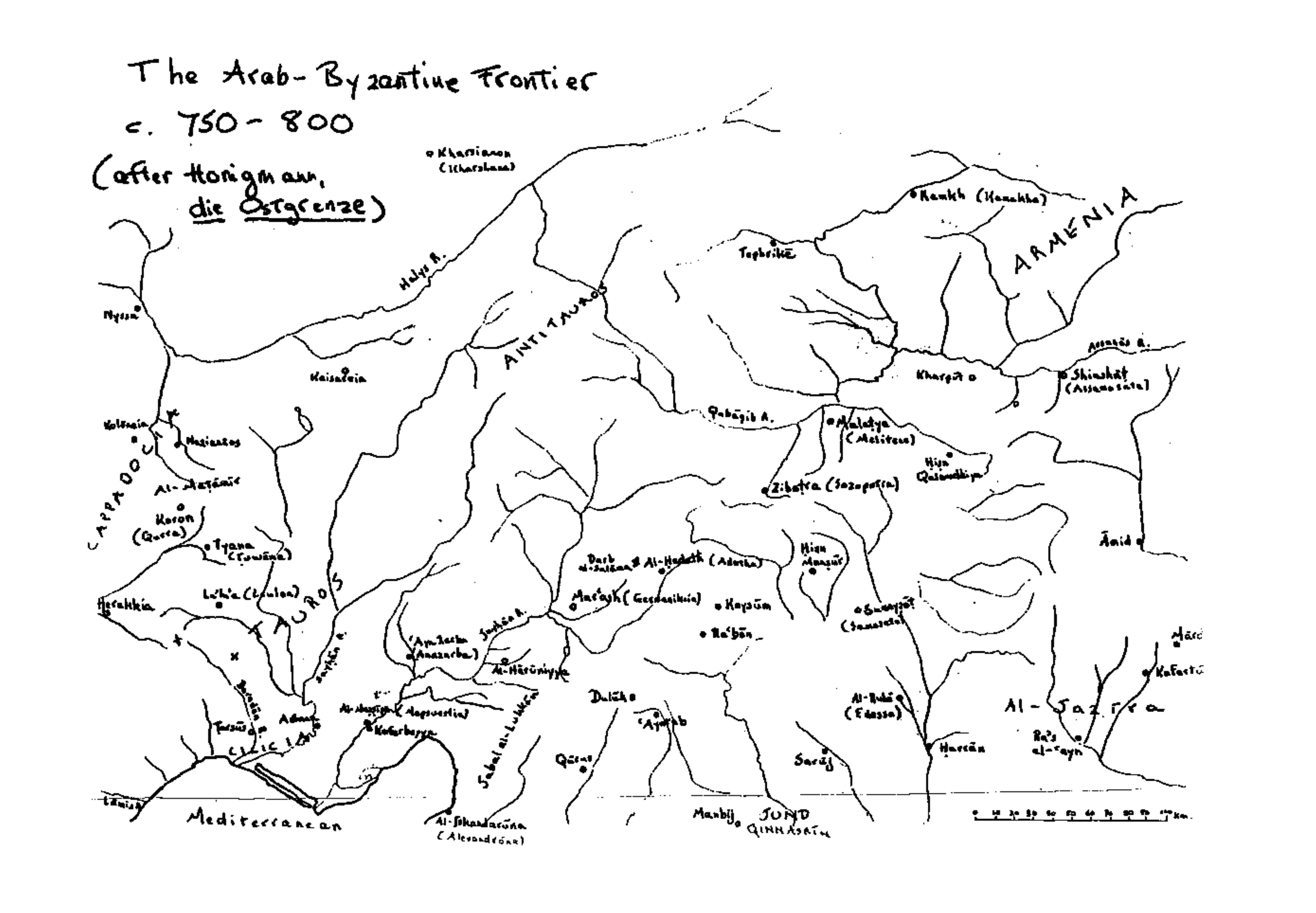
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c. 750-800
(after Honigmann, die Ostgrenze)
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Halys R.
Nyssa
Kaisareia
ANTITAUROS
Tephrike
Kamkh (Kamakha)
ARMENIA
Kharput
Shimshat
Malatya (Melitene)
Zibatra (Sozopetra)
Hisn Mansur
Al-Hadath (Adata)
Mar'ash (Germanikeia)
Kaysum
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Lu'lu'a
Herakleia
TAUROS
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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Frontier and the Caliphate

The district of the Caliphate which bordered on the Byzantine Empire, and which at some point became generally known as the *thughūr*, does not seem to have held a place among the provinces of Islam comparable to that of the frontier district of Byzantium among the lands of that great rival empire. In Byzantium, the system of themes appears to have emerged in response to the need to protect the new frontiers of Asia Minor; a frontier crisis of the seventh century may thus be said to have transformed Byzantine society and government.(1) And in the centuries between the Arab invasions and the Turkish influx, we may identify the frontier district as the breeding ground of a new Byzantine warrior aristocracy(2) and even of several emperors. But in the Islamic world, at least during the period of the independent caliphate, no such thing happened. Conquest and jihād are central values of the Islamic polity. Yet paradoxically, the Islamic frontier district never generated an elite of its own; and its role as a power base in the struggles of high politics was, at most times, correspondingly slight. We may see this contrast between the two rivals at its starkest in the mid fourth/tenth century, if we

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(1) See R.-J. Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber*, pp. 287f.

(2) See J.F. Haldon and H. Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Military Organisation and Society in the Borderlands," pp. 85, 98; S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor*, p. 24.

compare the careers of the soldier-emperors Nicephorus Phocas and John Tzimisces with that of their contemporary Sayf al-Dawla, a lord of the marches who failed utterly in his bid for power in Baghdad.

If any period constitutes an exception to this pattern, it is the one examined in this dissertation, the years from the `Abbāsid revolution until the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd. For the frontier district seems then to have been of some strategic importance in caliphal politics. That is, holding authority and commanding armies in the *thughūr* in those years might significantly advance one's position in the struggle for power at the center. Two of the best examples of this are the unsuccessful bid for power by `Abdallāh ibn `Alī in 136/754 (see below, 2.4) and events surrounding the accession of Hārūn in 170/786.(3)

At the same time, this period saw the emergence of the system of fortress-towns which became known as *al-thughūr* and *al-`awāṣim*. The most important event in this process was the reorganization of the frontier district which occurred in 170/186-187, the first year of the reign of Hārūn. This system seems afterwards to have remained much the same until the Byzantine reconquests of the fourth/tenth century.(4)

While the later history of the region is somewhat better known, this crucial early period remains obscure. We do not know what sort of district this was (either before or after the reorganization of 170), how it was governed, and often, even by whom.(5) As will be seen, scholars who have touched upon this issue have run the risk of anachronism by taking the Muslim geographers

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(3) On the latter, see M. Bonner, "Al-Khalīfa al-Marḍī" (forthcoming).

(4) Haldon and Kennedy, p. 106.

(5) Haldon and Kennedy, p. 111, refer to "the leaders of Muslim activity on the frontiers" without specifying the offices held by these leaders. This vagueness is typical of writing on this subject.

as a principal source. For the earliest of the extant geographers lived several generations after the events in question, and they all present a picture of the frontier district which differs in several important respects from the situation which obtained in the early `Abbāsid period (see following section and Chapter III).

In short, the emergence of the *thughūr* is a complicated question, one which necessarily combines theory with practice, words with deeds. This dissertation will focus upon this question, limiting itself, to the extent possible, to this narrow span of time. The central problem to be kept in mind will be the place of the frontier in Islamic government and society and--unavoidably--in Islamic thought.

1.2 The Geographers and the Thughūr

Muslim geographical tradition on the Arab-Byzantine frontier district is remarkable for its stability and consistency over generations and even centuries.(6) What we may call a "classical" picture of the area prevailed in most medieval Islamic books dealing with geography and related subjects.

We already find this "classical" picture fully developed in the third/ninth century writers Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Khurradādhbih, Ya`qūbī, and Balādhurī. Two essential features of this "classical" picture stand out.

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(6) A topographical survey will not be attempted here. The most useful is that of Canard, *H'amdanides*, pp. 226-235, 241-286. See also E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches*, passim; G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 128-134; F. Osman, *Al-Ḥudūd al-islāmiyya al-bīzanṭiyya*, I, 129-282; `A. Janzūrī, *Al-Thughūr al-barriyya al-islāmiyya*, pp. 7-19; Haldon and Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier," pp. 106f; Robert W. Edwards, "The Fortifications of Medieval Cilicia" (dissertation, University of California, 1983).

The first is the division of the "front line" of the frontier into districts attached (at least by name) to the provinces behind them. We thus have the *thughūr al-Shām* (or *al-thughūr al-shāmiyya*), comprising al-Maṣṣīṣa,(7) Adhana, Ṭarsūs, al-Ḥadath, ʿAyn Zarba, al-Hārūniyya, al-Kanīsa al-Sawdāʾ, and a number of smaller places; and the *thughūr al-Jazīra* (or *al-thughūr al-jazariyya*), whose most important places are Shimshāṭ, Kamkh, Malaṭya, Marʿash, Zibaṭra, and Ḥiṣn Manṣūr.(8) Occasionally we find a third division added to the north, in Armenian territory, called *al-thughūr al-bakriyya*.(9) However, the earliest writers on this subject, and most later authors, limit themselves to two divisions, the Syrian and the Jazīran *thughūr*.

The second of these two features of the "classical" tradition is the division between the *thughūr*, here conceived as a single elongated district facing the enemy directly, and the *ʿawāṣim*, a large area containing supporting positions behind the *thughūr*. The *ʿawāṣim* ("the protectors," or "the inviolate ones") are said to owe their name to the fact that the Muslims would fall back on them after their own raids and when under attack.(10) The principal cities of this district are Manbij, Dulūk, Raʿbān, Qurūs, Antioch, and Tīzīn.

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(7) On the vocalization of this toponym, see below, 5.4.2.

(8) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 163-171, 183-192; Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 55, 62-64; Ibn Khurradādhbih, pp. 97-100; Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, pp. 106-107; Canard, *H'amdanides*, pp. 241-286.

(9) Qudāma, pp. 254-255; Canard, *H'amdanides*, pp. 254-261.

(10) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 132, 147-152; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, III, 741-742; Canard, *H'amdanides*, p. 226; *idem*, "al-ʿAwāṣim," EI2, I, 760-762; below, 3.2.

(11) Al-Ḥadath and Marʿash are assigned by different authors to the Syrian

Despite disagreement over details,(11) these two organizing principles appear in most accounts, medieval and modern, of the frontier district. However, the fact that they do not fit together has escaped general notice.

According to the first division, the frontier is cut into two pieces(12) each of which bears the name of and is presumably an appendage of the larger province behind it. According to the second division, the *thughūr* as a unit are cut off from other Islamic provinces by the intermediate zone of the *ʿawāṣim*. Here the other provinces (Syria, Jazīra) have become irrelevant. Our geographical sources have thus maintained side by side two basically incompatible versions of the administrative geography of the area.

We may detect some possible reasons for this. The first division, into Syrian and Jazīran *thughūr*, has a basis in topography: that is, the *thughūr al-Shām* occupy the Cilician plain and points immediately adjacent, while the *thughūr al-Jazīra* are scattered in the mountainous country to the north and east.(13) But the origins of this dividing principle are probably to be found in late Umayyad times, when in one year there would typically be a "right" and a "left" *ṣā'ifa*, or summer expedition.(14) Syria was, of course, the metropolitan province; but equally important is the fact that al-Jazīra was part of the huge, loosely unified area which has now (largely on numismatic grounds) been identified as the "Umayyad North."(15) While the fron-

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and to the Jazīran *thughūr*. Sumaysāṭ appears in several districts. Many examples could be given.

(12) Or three; this does not change the point.

(13) Haldon and Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier," pp. 106f. Iṣṭakhrī, p. 56, says that the Jabal al-Lukkām is *al-fāṣil bayna 'l-thaghrayn*.

(14) See, for instance, Lilie, *Die Reaktion*, p. 149 (A.D. 732).

(15) On the administrative unity of the provinces al-Jazīra, Armīniya, Arrān, and Ādharbayjān in the Umayyad period, see M. Bates, forthcoming paper; D.A. Spellberg, "The Janza Dirhams: Administrative and Historical Sig-

tier area was not then organized as it was later, it nonetheless reflected this great territorial division within the Umayyad caliphate. Our geographers would seem to have retained a memory of this state of affairs. Much the same sort of thing seems to have happened in the case of the two yearly raids (the *ṣā'ifa* and the *shātiya*) prescribed by our authors. The winter expedition (*shātiya*) seems to have been an Umayyad practice discontinued under the `Abbāsids, but kept alive in bookish tradition.(16)

The second division, into *thughūr* and *`awāṣim*, must be dated to the early `Abbāsid period. The crucial date here is 170, when Hārūn created the district of al-`Awāṣim. This event and its aftermath will be taken up in Chapter III; it will be shown there that the distinction between *thughūr* and *`awāṣim* did not exist at that time, at least not in the form which we know from the geographers.(17) But we may already see that our two organizing principles derive from two distinct historical periods.

The apparently stable system which the geographers present is thus an idealized hybrid. We may therefore ask to what extent it ever reflected the administrative and political realities of the region.

This it could only have done at the time of our earliest extant writers on geography, that is, in the mid-to-late third/ninth century. But one of these authors, Iṣṭakhrī, shows signs of discomfort with a scheme which has already

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nificance," *Museum Notes of the American Numismatic Society* (forthcoming); M.G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 135-136; below, 6.2.

(16) See Haldon and Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier," p. 113, where Kennedy finds only two instances of winter raids in the century following the `Abbāsid revolution. These occur in 178 (Ṭabarī, III, 637) and 231 (Ṭabarī, III, 1365-1367).

(17) Only in the earliest of them, Iṣṭakhrī, do we find evidence of the earlier state of affairs. See p. 62: *Wa-ammā al-`awāṣim fa'sm al-nāḥiya wa-laysa mawḍi` bi-`aynihi yusammā al-`awāṣim....*

grown rigid.

> I have joined the *thughūr* to al-Shām. Even though part of the *thughūr* is known as the *thughūr al-Shām* and part as the *thughūr al-Jazīra*, both belong to al-Shām, because everything which lies beyond the Euphrates belongs to al-Shām. However, [the district] from Malaṭya to Mar`ash is called the *thughūr al-Jazīra*, because the people of al-Jazīra perform garrison duty there,(18) and because they go on raids there, not because it is part of al-Jazīra.(19)

Iṣṭakhrī makes his correction on theoretical grounds (*kullu mā warā'a 'l-Furāt min al-Shām*). He seems to be trying to find explanations for more or less inherited categories which do not make sense to him.(20)

In geographical writers of succeeding generations, this idealization of the *thughūr* assumes other forms. Qudāma, in a well-known passage, names the dates of departure, length, and other details of the yearly raids.(21) Qudāma's source for this information is the *ahl al-khibra min al-thaghriyyīn* ("knowledgeable residents of the *thughūr*"), and the entire passage may be inspired more by the pen than by the sword.

Mas`ūdī in the *Kitāb al-tanbīh* is not concerned with the organization of the *thughūr* district in itself. The *thughūr* arise only in connection with the *bilād al-Rūm*, a subject of particular interest to this author. In Mas`ūdī's stately processions of Roman and Byzantine emperors, of Byzantine administrative districts, and of ceremonies of redeeming captives (*afdiya*),

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(18) Correct text of Iṣṭakhrī to *yurābiṭūna*.

(19) Iṣṭakhrī, p. 55; Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 168; cf. A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman*, II, 474.

(20) The statement that the *thughūr al-Shām* and the *thughūr al-Jazīra* were manned respectively by Syrians and Jazīrans is in itself something of an idealization. At any rate, this was not the case in the period dealt with by this dissertation: here the Syrians and Jazīrans tend to be lumped together, usually in contradistinction to Khurāsānīs.

(21) Qudāma, p. 259. Qudāma adds a spring raid (*rabī`iyya*) to the usual two. His preference for threes over twos also appears in his adding *al-thughūr al-bakriyya* to the Syrian and Jazīran *thughūr* (see above).

the *thughūr* appear many times as a simple geographical designation. But the need for *préséance et bienséance* leads at times to distortions. In his list of *afdiya*, Mas`ūdī lists each time an *amīr al-thughūr al-sha'miyya*, after naming the reigning caliph and emperor. For the first *fidā'*, that of 189, this title is assigned to Abū Sulaym Faraj; for the second, occurring in 192, to Thābit ibn Naṣr.(22) While these men did hold positions of authority in the *thughūr*, they do not seem to have held the title of amīr (below, 3.5.5.1).

Ibn Ḥawqal, writing after the fall of the region to the Byzantines, echoes Iṣṭakhrī's account more or less verbatim, but then gives in his own words what is probably the fullest account which we have of the region in the fourth/tenth century. But here Ibn Ḥawqal ignores the traditional division of the region, being mainly concerned with the depredations of the Ḥamdānids and the decline of Islam.(23)

Muqaddasī, also writing after the Byzantine reconquest, seems least interested of all the geographers in the two organizing principles which have been described here. But in place of these principles he substitutes his own, finding a place for a *thaghr* in each *iqlīm*.(24)

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(22) Mas`ūdī, *Tanbīh*, pp. 189-190.

(23) Ibn Ḥawqal, pp. 179-189; cf. Miquel, *La géographie humaine*, II, 473-474. This seems to be true also of the *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik* by al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad al-Muhallabī, written for the Fāṭimid caliph al-`Azīz billāh. See Canard, "Quelques observations sur l'introduction géographique de la Bughyat at'-T'alab," pp. 45-46.

(24) Muqaddasī, p. 148 (Malaṭya). Some of the old conceptions are still present, despite the changed circumstances: at p. 151, the *iqlīm* of al-Shām is still described as having *al-ribāṭāt al-fāḍila wa'l-thughūr al-jalīla*.

These fourth-century writers thus seem to have lost interest in what we have called the "classical" conception of the *thughūr*, a conception which seems to date from the mid-third century. Nonetheless, they did not openly challenge it; and in later literature, this "classical" picture predominated, even as it became increasingly irrelevant.(25)

For our purposes we may note the tendency to anachronism present even in the earliest extant writers on geographical matters. This tendency seems to arise from a need to idealize anything having to do with the *thughūr* and with jihād. And we find such an idealization of the *thughūr* assuming many forms, in a variety of sources of different kinds.

1.3 Sources

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(25) The late fourth/tenth-century Persian *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (ed. and tr. Minorsky, London, 1937) follows Iṣṭakhrī in describing the "fortified line of Jazīra" as "belonging to Syria" (pp. 148-149). In the work of al-Muhallabī (see above, n. 23), as recorded by Ibn al-ʿAdīm, "On voit que la plus grande partie de la description [of Ṭarsūs] se rapporte à une époque antérieure." See Canard, "Quelques observations," pp. 47f. The same seems to be true of the (apparently no longer extant) *Siyar al-thughūr* by the fourth-century Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Ṭarsūsī, a work which seems to go far in the "idealization" of the *thughūr*. For the view of the matter in the late Middle Ages, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, III, 741-742, and passim; Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, IV, 130-135.

(26) For the most part, the early ʿAbbāsid *thughūr* have been discussed only in works devoted to other, broader topics. At the turn of the century, E.W. Brooks collected and translated the sources then available, in a series of two articles entitled "Byzantium and the Arabs in the Time of the Early Abbasids." These articles, which give little by way of critical analysis, are today of limited value, especially in view of the new sources which have become available since 1900.

The three-volume study *Al-Ḥudūd al-islāmiyya al-bīzanṭiyya* by Fathi Osman covers a wide range of subjects. While it does not discuss the early ʿAbbāsid period in critical detail, it is useful for its collection of source materials.

A concise work by ʿA. ʿA.-S. Janzūrī entitled *Al-Thughūr al-barriyya*

Modern scholars writing on the early Islamic *thughūr*(26) have tended to use a narrower range of sources than have Byzantinists writing on comparable subjects. The Islamicists have relied primarily upon chroniclers (Arabic and other) and geographers. The information which these provide, while important and (in some cases) plentiful, results in a somewhat monochrome picture. The Byzantinists, on the other hand, have successfully integrated other sources, most notably numismatic, legal, and hagiographic, into their discussions of these, as of other events.(27) Such materials are available to the Islami-

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al-islāmiyya ʿalā ḥudūd al-dawla al-bīzanṭiyya fī 'l-ʿuṣūr al-wusṭā provides helpful summaries on places and events, but likewise does not deal with this early period in any detail.

P. von Sivers has written an article on the *thughūr* ("Taxes and Trade in the ʿAbbāsid Thughūr, 750-962/133-351"), which includes some interesting pages on our subject (pp. 74-77). However, the early period receives somewhat short shrift, being subsumed under the first of three periods spanning the entire history of the ʿAbbāsid *thughūr*. Furthermore, von Sivers' interest in economic and social matters works more or less to the exclusion of administrative history, religion, and ideology, all of which are important. In any case, it is questionable to what extent one may follow von Sivers in speaking of a "ruling class" in the *thughūr* if, as is maintained in this dissertation, the Islamic frontier region failed to produce its own local aristocracy.

The Birmingham dissertation by ʿA.-R. Salem, entitled "War and Peace in Caliphate and Empire: Political Relations between the ʿAbbāsids and Byzantium," uses a wide range of sources, and is frequently helpful. However, Salem's emphasis is different from that of this dissertation, and since he has taken on practically the full gamut of Byzantine-Arab relations, he does not enter into detail on most of the matters which will come up here.

So far there is only one article which deals with the Islamic frontier district of these years in and of itself, in any detail. This is the result of a collaboration between a Byzantinist (J.F. Haldon) and an Islamicist (H. Kennedy). See Haldon and Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Military Organisation and Society in the Borderlands." Here the frontier districts of both sides are described with clarity.

(27) See, for example, the articles on the frontier in the *Actes du XIVe Congrès Internationale des Etudes Byzantines* (Bucharest, 1974-1975). The Byzantine historian A. Pertusi in particular wrote interesting pages on the social history of the Islamic frontier: see his "Tra storia e leggende: Akritai e Ghâzi sulla frontiera orientale di Bisanzio," espe-

cist in great profusion, and their exploitation for the history of the *thughūr* is overdue.

This dissertation is an attempt to approach the early `Abbāsid *thughūr* through various kinds of sources. Chapters II and III, concerned primarily with the administrative history of the district, are based upon the works of the historians. However, Chapter III also takes up a numismatic problem which casts some light on the problem of the reorganization of the *thughūr* as a distinct entity. Chapter IV takes up a subject of direct relevance to frontier society, that of *ju`l* (substitutes for the jihād), and examines its development in Islamic law and in ḥadīth. Chapter V uses biographical literature to draw a group portrait of the "scholars and saints" who lived in or were otherwise associated with the region of the *thughūr*.(28)

However, materials of such different origins cannot be woven together into one seamless narrative. Individual genres of Islamic literature, such as history, ḥadīth, and biography, have a way of addressing the world only according to their own viewpoints, at times to the apparent exclusion even of one another. Consequently, we shall not find corroboration in the chronicles

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cially pp. 248f. The above-mentioned article by Haldon and Kennedy also illustrates this point.

(28) Poetry and romance have not been used here systematically. Unlike the other types of sources mobilized here, they have already been discussed in this context. See, for instance, M. Canard, "Un personnage de roman arabo-byzantin," *Revue Africaine* LXXIII (1932), pp. 1-14 (repr. in *Byzance et les musulmans du Proche-Orient*). *Idem*, "Delhemma, épopée arabe des guerres arabo-byzantines," *Byzantion* X (1935), pp. 283-300 (repr. in *Byzance et les musulmans*). *Idem*, "Mutanabbī et la guerre byzantino-arabe: Interêt historique de ses poésies," *Al-Mutanabbi. Recueil publiée à l'occasion de son millénaire*. Mémoires de l'Institut français de Damas (Beirut, 1936), pp. 99-114 (repr. in *Byzance et les musulmans*). *Idem*, EI2 articles "Al-Baṭṭāl, `Abd Allāh," "Dhu'l-Himma or Dhāt al-Himma." See also *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, 397-408; II, ii, 299-377; A. Pertusi, "Tra storia e leggenda: Akritai e Ghâzi sulla frontiera orientale di Bizanzio;" H.F. Graham, "*Digenis Akritas* as a Source for Frontier History."

for most of the information derived from law, ḥadīth, and biography. Nonetheless, this exploration of different genres will, it is hoped, lead to a better understanding of the *thughūr* in relation to the Islamic world than would otherwise have been possible.(29)

1.4 Themes

The problem of the early ʿAbbāsid *thughūr* has several aspects. It involves, first of all, the caliphs and their deputies. But other sorts of people are ultimately no less important. These include the men who went to fight, the soldiers and the volunteers; and the men of learning and piety who are known to have settled there in considerable numbers. Each of these groups (roughly, caliphs, soldiers, scholars) will be taken up in turn.

To be sure, other groups could also be studied, and themes could be identified other than the ones dealt with here. Nonetheless, from these chapters there will emerge an understanding of the contrast made at the beginning of this introduction. In Byzantium, where religion for the most part rejected the idea of holy war, the phenomenon of the frontier came to pervade the entire society. In Islam, the very stress on jihād led to the opposite situation. That is, the centrality of the concept made it too important to be left in the hands of marauding frontiersmen. Instead, we find the Islamic center asserting itself, in every instance.

Caliphs worked out different methods of controlling the area, with varying degrees of success; but above all they themselves, as well as the ʿAbbāsid family in general, imprinted their own personalities on the area as on few other places. As a result, the region remained stillborn: from an adminis-

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(29) I am indebted to the work of A. Noth, *Heiliger Krieg und heiliger Kampf in Islam und Christentum* (Bonn, 1966) for my understanding of the concept of jihād.

trative point of view, the *thughūr* never became a real province. The contrast with the Byzantine *kleisourai* is instructive.(30)

The problem of *ju'l* likewise provides a perfect illustration of this move from periphery to center. Here we begin with a debate of direct relevance to the frontier, and seemingly only to the frontier, only to find it taking place in such places as Kufa, Basra, and Medina. Bits of the debate make their way to the *thughūr* (below, 4.5.3.2), but it has to do more with the major legal and theological issues of the day, than with local conditions.

Finally, the "scholars and saints" pose the issue in the starkest fashion. One acquired religious merit by traveling to the *thughūr*, by living there, and by participating in the jihād. But this merit (*faḍl al-jihād*) does not come simply from fighting the enemy: it is related to other religious ideas then current in the Islamic world.

1.4.1 Chronology

The classic work in the field of Arab-Byzantine relations, *Byzance et les Arabes* by A. Vasiliev and his translators/editors, begins with the Amorian dynasty (820-867).(31) For those interested in Arab-Byzantine relations of the early 'Abbāsid period, this presents a problem. For while detailed work on political and military events has been done on some of this period,(32) we

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(30) See J. Ferluga, "Le clisure bizantine in Asia Minore." Ferluga emphasizes that the *kleisourai* were independent administrative and military units. The kleisourarch did not hold a rank subordinate to that of the strategos of a theme (p. 10). We find a kleisourarch (or the son of a kleisourarch) patronizing a painter/ascetic/stylite in Cappadocia around the year 700 (p. 12; see N. Thierry, "Les peintures murales de six églises du haut moyen âge en Cappadoce." *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles lettres*, July-Oct. 1970 (Paris, 1971), p. 448; resumé in *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines* (Bucharest, 1974), I, 286-288).

(31) Vasiliev did not explain this choice. See *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, xiiif.

still lack the sort of detailed, continuous narrative which, as Vasiliev himself noted, is a prerequisite for other sorts of inquiry.(33)

However, an early `Abbāsid installment of *Byzance et les Arabes* is beyond the reach of this dissertation. And in any case, the emphasis here will be on the Islamic world, rather than on the Byzantine. Accordingly, this dissertation will have to begin by filling gaps in chronology (particularly for the first two `Abbāsid caliphs) before proceeding to other matters. This will be taken up in Chapter II.

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(32) S. Moscati, "Studi storici sul califfato di al-Mahdī," "Nuovi studi storici sul califfato di al-Mahdī," "Le califat d'al-Hādī." M. Canard, "La prise d'Héraclée et les relations entre Hārūn ar-Rashīd et l'Empereur Nicéphore Ier."

(33) *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, xiii.

Chapter II

ABU 'L-'ABBAS AND ABU JA'FAR

2.1 Introduction

By the year A.D. 720 the Muslims had gained control of most of the area known as the *thughūr*.(34) The situation in the area then became stable, despite minor fluctuations. Byzantine strategy in these years consisted of harassing and, when possible, destroying Muslim outposts, while maintaining a barren region between the Empire and the frontier.(35) The Muslims, for their part, began to dig themselves into the area during this late Umayyad period.(36) Having given up their earlier policy of sending armies to winter in the interior of Anatolia, they now devoted most of their energy to the frontier region itself and to the nearest Byzantine lands. This change in policy accompanied, or was a consequence of, their abandonment of any practical strategy directed at Constantinople.(37)

The rise of the 'Abbāsids to power did not immediately bring about changes in the *thughūr* or in Muslim strategy. Lilie has argued convincingly that the history of the *thughūr* under the early 'Abbāsids may be seen as a direct consequence of the situation inherited from the late Umayyad period. That is,

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(34) Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion*, pp. 138-140, 159-163.

(35) Lilie, pp. 168-169.

(36) Balādhurī, *Futūh*, p. 185; Lilie, p. 139.

(37) Lilie, pp. 160, 181-182. According to Lilie, it was only after 700 that the Arab expeditions acquired the character ascribed to them by Wellhausen, that of raids for the purpose of plunder.

the Byzantine policy of harrassing the Arab frontier settlements (without venturing far beyond them) forced the Muslims to improve their own defenses; a half-century of this process resulted in the organized system familiar to us from the geographers.(38)

Nevertheless, this defensive reading of Muslim strategy does not give an adequate account of Muslim policy during the early ʿAbbāsid period. Lilie describes the Arab expeditions in Asia Minor as more or less pointless forays with the goal of plunder.(39) The position of Salem, that the early ʿAbbāsids were interested in peaceful relations and in maintaining their defenses, likewise comes to grief on the the offensive nature of the Muslim expeditions.(40)

This chapter will concentrate on the administrative history of the *thughūr* during the reigns of the first two ʿAbbāsid caliphs. This will lead, it is hoped, to a better understanding of what the *thughūr* meant at the time, and of the true nature of the activities which went on there. First, however, must come a brief survey of the main sources.

2.1.1 Sources

The detailed treatment which the preceding (Umayyad) period has received from modern scholars has not been carried over to Arab-Byzantine relations under the early ʿAbbāsids.(41)

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(38) Lilie, pp. 168-169, 181-182.

(39) Lilie, pp. 180-181.

(40) Salem, "War and Peace in Caliphate and Empire," pp. 65f.

(41) Caetani's *Chronographia islamica* (Paris, 1912) ends with the year 132. His *Cronografia generale del bacino mediterraneo* (Rome, 1923) covers the years A.H. 132-144, but is not of much use, since it covers most of the Old World, while neglecting some of the early Arabic sources (such as Yaʿqūbī). Caetani does not, in any case, give critical discussions of the rather severe problems of chronology which arise for this period.

2.1.1.1 *Muslim*

The major Muslim sources are Ṭabarī, Ya'qūbī, Khalīfa ibn Khayyāṭ, Balādhurī (both the *Futūḥ al-buldān* and the *Ansāb al-ashrāf*), Azdī, and Ibn al-'Adīm.

A major divergence exists between Ya'qūbī and Ṭabarī.(42) This divergence, which will recur throughout this chapter, is important in the history of the *thughūr* of this period, especially with regard to the role played by Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Alī (below, 2,6,1-2). Other early Muslim sources tend to be close to Ṭabarī, with the major exception of Khalīfa ibn Khayyāṭ (d. 240), whose *Ta'rīkh* is usually (though not always) closer to Ya'qūbī's version of events.

The *Ta'rīkh al-Mawṣil* by al-Azdī gives some details on the *thughūr* not available elsewhere. For the most part, however, Azdī seems to be following Ṭabarī's sources. Much the same may be said of the *Kitāb al-'unwān* by the Christian Arabic writer Agapius of Manbij, insofar as it relies on Muslim sources.

The all-important *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān* by al-Balādhurī (d. 279) follows a different principle of organization from that of the chronicles. Disagreement over details occurs frequently between Balādhurī and Ṭabarī, but this is often susceptible to harmonization. We may thus add the *Futūḥ* to a "synop-

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The collection of "annalistic extracts" by E.W. Brooks is also not very useful, both because of sources which have become available since 1900 (such as Khalīfa and the *Ansāb* of Balādhurī), and because of Brooks' omission of page references. The works by Wellhausen ("Die Kämpfe der Araber") and Canard ("Les expéditions") both concentrate on the Umayyad period. But this is also largely true of Lilie's *Die byzantinische Reaktion*. Lilie provides a rather detailed chronology of the Umayyad period (pp. 47-162), but contents himself "mit einem kurzen Überblick" of the first 'Abbāsid half-century (pp. 169-182; see p. 169, n. 2). Lilie's 'Abbāsid section is useful nonetheless. The most detailed discussion of this earliest 'Abbāsid period is that of Salem ("War and Peace," pp. 28-63).

(42) As noted by Brooks, *English Historical Review* XV (1900), p. 730. Salem, pp. 240-241, only notes that Ya'qūbī "often throws much light" on Ṭabarī.

tic" collection, presumably deriving from the same sources.(43) In opposition are Ya`qūbī and Khalīfa, who seem to be in a different tradition.

Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, a book of a different genre, adds precious, detailed information on politics and `Abbāsid family gossip. On the other hand, the anonymous *Kitāb al-`uyūn wa'l-ḥadā'iq* is of no help in this chapter.

The *Zubdat al-ḥalab min ta'rīkh Ḥalab* by Ibn al-`Adīm, though a late source, provides the local view from Jund Qinnasrīn, and while its notices of *ṣawā'if* are of secondary importance, the information which it gives on administrative divisions and on governors is indispensable. However, Ibn al-`Adīm was confronted with much the same problems of chronology as confront us now, and it must be kept in mind that his statements may be the result of his own harmonization and reflection.

2.1.1.2 Christian

The chronicle of Theophanes is the principal Byzantine source for this period.(44) Later Byzantine historians depend on him; his contemporary Nicephorus adds little information of use here.

The Syriac chronicle attributed to Dionysius of Tell Maḥrē(45) is our only source for this period which gives extensive information on the lives and sufferings of ordinary inhabitants of al-Jazīra and the *thughūr* (below, 2.9). Other Syriac chronicles, especially Michael the Syrian and the anonymous

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(43) Prominent among these sources would be Wāqidī, frequently cited by Balādhurī and Ṭabarī.

(44) On scholarship on the *Chronographia*, and the problem of Theophanes' "Eastern source," see now L.I. Conrad, "Theophanes and the Arabic Historical Tradition" (forthcoming).

(45) For a recent summary of the case against Dionysius' authorship, see M. Tardieu, "Ṣābiens coraniques et 'Ṣābiens' de Ḥarrān," *Journal Asiatique*, CCLXXIV (1986), p. 6, n. 15.

Chronicle of 1234 (which seem to incorporate Syriac sources as old as the ninth-century *Chronica Minora*)(46) are essential to the enterprise. For Armenian matters, Lewond is indispensable, though unreliable on dates.

The Christian writers (with the exception of Theophanes and Nicephorus) lack precision in matters of chronology. They also tend to present a more or less unified front when contrasted with the Muslim chroniclers.(47) However, it is frequently easier to account for and even to harmonize these discrepancies than to bridge the gap between Ya`qūbī and the Muslim "synoptics."

It will be noticed, in any case, that documentation for this period is relatively plentiful. The chronicles of various traditions, combined with Balādhurī's *Futūḥ*, provide a fairly full picture of events. The *Ansāb* provides insight into the inner workings of the `Abbāsid family and government, while the chronicle of Dionysius allows unique glimpses into "real life."

2.2 *Isḥāq ibn Muslim at Sumaysāṭ*

Upon their triumph over the Umayyads in 132/750, the `Abbāsids had immediately to face several military challenges from the residue of the Umayyad armies. Ibn Hubayra, besieged in Wāsiṭ with an important force, became the principal obstacle to `Abbāsid rule in Iraq. But in no sense did he become a center of local resistance. He had already "played an ambiguous role in the drama,"(48) especially by refraining from coming to Marwān's aid in the final crisis, and now held out for favorable terms of surrender. These terms were

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(46) See preface by J.-M. Fiey to the translation of *Chronicle of 1234*, Vol. II (Louvain, 1974), pp. v-xii. This chronicle is independent from that of Michael the Syrian, though they share common sources.

(47) Agapius of Manbij may be included here, except for when he relies on Muslim sources.

(48) H. Kennedy, *The Early Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 49.

duly granted, and then duly violated, with Ibn Hubayra and his family being put to the sword.(49)

Events in Syria and al-Jazīra, the homeland of the Umayyad armies, were much less orderly. Several more or less distinct anti-`Abbāsid revolts may be traced there in the years 132 and 133. The revolt which centered in Qinnasrīn, and which was led by Abū 'l-Ward (a former general and "companion" of Marwān II) together with Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī(50) was separate from the (southern) Syrian uprising led by Ḥabīb ibn Murra al-Murrī (described as *min quwwād Marwān wa-fursānihi*).(51) These movements lacked any connection with one another, so that the `Abbāsid `Abdallāh ibn `Alī was able to come to terms with Ḥabīb as soon as he got word of Abū 'l-Ward's uprising.(52)

At about the same time, a third uprising took place. This one began in al-Jazīra, and like the other two is described in the sources as a *tabyīḍ*, or pro-Umayyad uprising. It is of interest to us here because it culminated in a long siege at Sumaysāṭ in the *thughūr al-Jazīra*. Ṭabari's account is the one usually cited:

> When word reached the people of al-Jazīra of the revolt of Abū 'l-Ward and the people of Qinnasrīn, they revolted. At that time Mūsā ibn Ka`b [`Abbāsid governor of al-Jazīra] was in Ḥarrān with 3000 soldiers, holding fast to the city. They went there in a state of rebellion (*mubayyiḍīn*) from every direction, and laid siege to [Mūsā] and his fellow defenders. At that time they were not under a unified command. Thereupon Isḥāq ibn Muslim came to them from Armenia (he had departed from there upon hearing of Marwān's defeat), and the men of al-Jazīra made him their chief. He besieged Mūsā ibn Ka`b for around two months.(53)

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(49) Ṭabarī, III, 61-72.

(50) Ṭabarī, III, 52-55; Ya`qūbī, II, 425; Azdī, *Tārīkh al-Mawṣil*, p. 140; Ibn al-`Adīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab min tārīkh Ḥalab*, pp. 55-56.

(51) Ṭabarī, III, 56.

(52) Ṭabarī, III, 56; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 432.

(53) Ṭabarī, III, 56-57.

Isḥāq ibn Muslim al-`Uqaylī was a leader of the Qays, and one of Marwān's important officers. In his first appearance in the sources, he conquered the *qilā` Tūmānshāh* in 120.(54) In 126, as Marwān prepared to head south to avenge al-Walīd, he sent Isḥāq to al-Bāb, as head of the Qays.(55) We find him leading the *maysara* in battle against al-Khaybar al-Khārijī.(56) In 132-133 Isḥāq was unquestionably governor of Armenia.(57) His name appears on undated bronze coins of that province.(58)

Ṭabarī then reports that the caliph Abū 'l-`Abbās sent Abū Ja`far to supress this rebellion, which had spread throughout the province of al-Jazīra. Isḥāq was reinforced by Arabs of Rabī`a, under the leadership of "a man of the *Ḥarūriyya* called Bukayra."(59) These were routed by Abū Ja`far's forces, apparently in the area of Dārā and Māridīn. These Khārijīs were thus no more of a match for the `Abbāsids' Khurāsānī armies than the (no doubt similar) forces of Abū 'l-Ward and Ḥabīb were in Syria at about the same time.

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(54) Ṭabarī, II, 1635.

(55) Ṭabarī, II, 1871. With him went Thābit ibn Nu`aym al-Judhāmī, as head of the Yaman. Slightly different versions at Khalīfa ibn Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, p. 564, and Azdī, *Tārīkh al-Mawṣil*, p. 61.

(56) Ṭabarī, II, 1941; Khalīfa, pp. 574-575; Azdī, p. 72.

(57) Balādhurī *Futūḥ*, p. 209. Khalīfa (p. 620) says that when Marwān left Armenia he installed `Āṣim ibn `Abdallāh ibn Yazīd al-Hilālī as governor there. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk sent Musāfir ibn al-Qaṣṣāb who killed `Āṣim. The governorship was taken by `Abdallāh ibn Muslim, who died and was replaced by his brother Isḥāq. Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 49, cites Ya`qūbī, II, 410, where, however, there is nothing about this.

(58) J. Walker, *Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umaiyad Coins*, pp. 229-230 (#748, 749); P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 106.

(59) Ṭabarī, III, 57. Bukayra's maraudings are lamented by Dionysius of Tell Maḥrē, p. 46.

However, still according to Ṭabarī, Isḥāq left his brother Bakkār with a garrison at Edessa, and proceeded with the greater part of his army to Sumaysāṭ.

> Abū 'l-ʿAbbās wrote to ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAlī instructing him to proceed with his army to [fight] Isḥāq in Sumaysāṭ. Isḥāq then had 60,000 men from all of al-Jazīra....[ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAlī's forces faced them from across the Euphrates.](60)

This siege lasted seven months, during which (still according to Ṭabarī) Abū 'l-ʿAbbās sent Abū Jaʿfar, who entered into negotiations with Isḥāq, resulting in an *amān* for the besieged. Isḥāq then became a trusted companion of Abū Jaʿfar.

Ṭabarī's version of these events presents several difficulties. First of all, he describes Abū Jaʿfar as arriving at Sumaysāṭ when his uncle ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAlī was already there. Abū Jaʿfar is not described as relieving or reinforcing his uncle; instead, ʿAbdallāh simply drops out of the picture. Yaʿqūbī presents two versions of these events, whereby the siege of Sumaysāṭ was conducted either by Abū Jaʿfar or by ʿAbdallāh, but in any case not by both.(61) Likewise, we find a certain amount of confusion on precisely when Abū Jaʿfar became governor of al-Jazīra, Armenia and Azerbaijan.(62)

This discord in the sources about the roles played by ʿAbdallāh and Abū Jaʿfar--the two main contenders for the succession to Abū 'l-ʿAbbās--is of interest in the light of later events. However, of more importance to the

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(60) Ṭabarī, III, 57.

(61) Yaʿqūbī, II, 425. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, p. 56, has ʿAbdallāh operating against Isḥāq from a base in Dābiq. Ibn al-Athīr (V, 434-435) who follows Ṭabarī in all this, notes the discrepancy, *wa-qīla inna ʿAbdallāh....*

(62) According to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 192, and Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, p. 56, Abū Jaʿfar already held this governorship when the siege of Sumaysāṭ began. Ṭabarī (III, 57) seems to imply that the appointment followed upon these events.

history of the *thughūr* is the fact that only Ṭabarī (and later historians who follow him, such as Ibn al-Athīr) says that Isḥāq ibn Muslim became head of the rebellion of al-Jazīra in Edessa and Ḥarrān. In the other sources, Isḥāq simply moves from Armenia westward to Sumaysāṭ.(63)

In taking up a position in Sumaysāṭ, Isḥāq would have been venturing just beyond the borders of his own province,(64) and, more importantly, doing so with his own forces, rather than with all the fighting men of al-Jazīra. For it seems improbable that such a large force (Ṭabarī says 60,000) could have stayed in a frontier outpost even under peaceful conditions; and what reason was there for all the Jazīrans to retreat to the frontier, when this did not in any case put them beyond the reach of the ʿAbbāsid forces?

According to Christian writers, Syriac and Arabic, Edessa was occupied and fortified by one Mansūr bar Gaʿunna, a leader of the Qays, while Isḥāq ibn Muslim took up his position in Sumaysāṭ. The Jazīran forces besieging Mūsā ibn Kaʿb at Ḥarrān dispersed upon hearing of the defeat of Ḥabīb and Abū 'l-Ward; and after a while, Manṣūr bar Gaʿunna and Isḥāq ibn Muslim both surrendered "of their own accord."(65) In other words, we have here separate, but coordinated resistance in Edessa and Sumaysāṭ. Balādhurī largely confirms this picture:

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(63) Yaʿqūbī, II, 425; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, III, 154; Agapius of Manbij, *Kitāb al-ʿunwān*, VIII, 530; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, p. 56; Michael the Syrian, II, 518.

(64) Those borders were ill-defined. However, the northern part of the *thughūr al-Jazīra* was (later) considered part of Armenia IV (*Armīniya al-rābiʿa*). For Ibn Khurradādhbih (BGA VI, 122) Armenia IV consisted of Shimshāṭ, Khilāṭ, Ardjīh, Bājunays; cf. Balādhurī *Futūḥ*, p. 184; Khalīfa, p. 627; Dionysius of Tell Maḥrē, pp. 56, 107; Michael the Syrian, II, 518; W. M. Ramsey, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 325; A. Ter-Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates in Baghratid Armenia*, p. 32.

(65) *Chronicle of 1234*, I, 260-261; Agapius, p. 530.

> Abū ʿAmr al-Bāhilī and others told me that Ḥiṣn Manṣūr was named after Manṣūr ibn Jaʿwana ibn al-Ḥārith al-ʿAmir of Qays. He was assigned to build and repair it. He stayed there in the days of Marwān to keep the enemy back, with a large army of Syrians and Jazīrans. This Manṣūr was in command of the men of Edessa when they resisted at the beginning of the Dawla, and when al-Manṣūr, then Abū 'l-ʿAbbās' governor of al-Jazīra, besieged them. When he conquered the town, Manṣūr fled, but was then granted a reprieve (*ūmina wa-ṭahara*). But when ʿAbdallāh threw off the rule of Abū Jaʿfar al-Mansūr, he put [Manṣūr ibn Jaʿwana] in charge of his *shurṭa*. Then, when ʿAbdallāh fled to al-Basra....[Manṣūr ibn Jaʿwana was brought to al-Manṣūr at al-Raqqa, and executed in the year 141.(66)

With this we might consider the question of who led the revolt in al-Jazīra to be settled for once and for all. However, we find more candidates for this position elsewhere. According to al-Yaʿqūbī, the revolt in al-Jazīra was led by Muḥammad ibn Maslama ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (Ibn Jaʿwana is not mentioned).(67) Ibn al-ʿAdīm has another Umayyad prince, Abān ibn Muʿāwiya ibn Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik holding out at Sumaysāt with 4000 men *after* the capitulation of Isḥāq ibn Muslim.(68) Ibn al-ʿAdīm then relates that Abān was defeated by Ḥumayd ibn Qaḥṭaba, who took Sumaysāt by force in Ramaḍān 133.

In the *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, however we also find a report that when, in 137, ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAlī was about to embark on the *ṣā'ifa* which later turned into a rebellion, he had first to deal with a force of 4000 led by this same Abān.(69) There is no indication here of what Abān had been doing for the previous four years; we can only surmise that he had remained independent

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(66) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 192; cf. *Ansāb*, III, 106; Ṭabarī, III, 129, where Manṣūr's execution occurs in 140.

(67) Yaʿqūbī, II, 425.

(68) *Zubda*, p. 56. There may be an allusion to this at Ṭabarī, III, 57, *fa-kharaja Isḥāq ilā abī Jaʿfar wa-tamma al-ṣulḥ baynahumā wa-kāna ʿindahu man āthara aṣḥābahu.*

(69) Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III, 109.

with his force of 4000--which seems unlikely.

Neither of these Umayyad princes would have had much hope of mercy from the `Abbāsids in 133; they had every reason to hold out longer than the other commanders. There may be truth to many, or even all of these versions. Resistance in Syria and al-Jazīra was notoriously uncoordinated (see above); and different leaders, Qaysī generals and Umayyad princes, may have operated more or less independently of one another.

The one version which should probably be rejected is that of Ṭabarī. No early source confirms Ṭabarī's assertion that Isḥāq went first to Edessa, and became commander of the Jazīran forces. Aside from the impracticality of moving these forces to Sumaysāṭ, we may argue that the discipline and tenacity of Isḥāq's men shows that they were different from the less stable Jazīrans. By all accounts, the siege lasted for seven months; even if this was actually no more than a prolonged bargaining over terms of surrender,(70) it nonetheless represents a far more unified effort than did any of the revolts going on in Syria and al-Jazīra at the time. These were probably the men Isḥāq had brought with him from Armenia, Syro-Jazīrans with experience of fighting in the Caucasus and the Byzantine frontiers, as well, of course, as the long succession of civil wars which had marked the reign of Marwān and the first `Abbāsid years.(71)

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(70) As Kennedy implies, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, pp. 49-50. However, see Ṭabarī, III, 57, *wa-kānat baynahumā waqa`āt.*

(71) Note that the men described as leaders of the revolt were closely associated with frontier warfare. Manṣūr ibn Ja`wana had been so involved with the *thughūr* that the fortress of Ḥiṣn Manṣūr was named for him, Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 192, and above. Abān ibn Mu`āwiya came from a family noted for its activity in the *thughūr* (his father and uncle conducted frequent expeditions), even though Abān himself is mentioned only as leading forces against the Khārijite Ibn Mu`āwiya in 129, Ṭabarī, II, 1978-1980; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III, 175. Muḥammad ibn Maslama appears in the sources only here, but again his ancestry is enough to qualify him as a thaghrī.

2.3 Byzantine attacks, 133

The emperor Constantine V took advantage of the chaos prevailing on the Muslim side of the frontier by directing (or actually leading) attacks on the *thughūr*. This expedition (or expeditions) presents several problems of chronology. Was it one or several events? Did it coincide with the siege of Sumaysāt? First, however, we must establish the dates. Ṭabarī, again standing alone, assigns this Byzantine campaign to 137.

> And among the events of that year was the forcible entry of the Roman tyrant Constantine into Malaṭya. He subdued its inhabitants, destroyed its walls, and let its garrison (*muqātilatahu*) go free with their dependents.(72)

Constantine's liberal behavior in allowing the Muslims to return unharmed to al-Jazīra is reported in all the sources, and is an identifying mark for this event. However, other Arabic sources assign the fall of Malaṭya to 133.(73) There is disagreement among the Syriac writers, but they agree in any case in making this campaign prior to 137/754.(74) Theophanes alludes to this campaign in describing the Armenians who were deported to Thrace from Malaṭya and Qālīqalā, bringing with them their detested Paulicianism.(75)

Also arguing for a date of 133 is the fact that several events of 137 and the years immediately following could easily have been confused with this expedition. Malaṭya and Qālīqalā were rebuilt in 139.(76) The Muslim expe-

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(72) Ṭabarī, III, 121.

(73) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 186, 199; Azdī, p. 142; Ya'qūbī, II, 435; Khalīfa, p. 626.

(74) Dionysius, pp. 55-56, ascribes it to 1061 (749-750/132-133); the *Chronicle of 1234* (I, 263) to the year 1063 (=751-752/133-134), as does Michael the Syrian (II, 518). Cf. Caetani, *Cronografia generale*, pp. 16-17; Lilie, *Die Reaktion*, pp. 164-165.

(75) Theophanes, pp. 427, 429. Cf. Nicephorus, p. 65; Lilie, p. 165.

(76) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 186-187, 199.

ditions of the 130's present severe problems of chronology; in the case of at least one of these expeditions, the Muslims encountered a large Byzantine force, reportedly commanded by Constantine V himself.(77)

Finally, the turmoil on the Muslim side of the frontier in 133 provided an opportunity for the Byzantines which did not recur in 137. This emerges in Balādhurī:

> Al-Wāqidī said that in the year 133 Constantine the tyrant set out for Malaṭya. Kamkh was then in the hands of the Muslims, under a man of the Banū Sulaym. The people of Kamkh called out to the people of Malaṭya, who then set out against the Romans with 800 horse. They met the Roman cavalry, and were defeated. The Roman (*al-Rūmī*) then swerved (*māla*) towards Malaṭya, and besieged it. Al-Jazīra was then in a state of rebellion (*wa 'l-Jazīra maftūna*), and Mūsā ibn Ka'b was its governor in Ḥarrān.(78)

These circumstances (*wa 'l-Jazīra maftūna*) make it all the more likely that most of our sources (again excluding Ṭabarī) are correct in assigning the fall of Malaṭya to 133.(79) It therefore appears to be the case that the 'Abbāsid forces were so intent on defeating Isḥāq ibn Muslim in Sumaysāt and the other rebels in al-Jazīra, that they permitted the Byzantine armies to attack Muslim fortress towns, whose garrisons were left to fend for themselves. We find that during the same expedition Constantine besieged Shimshāṭ unsuccessfully,(80) and (perhaps) al-Maṣṣīṣa.(81)

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(77) Probably in the year 140. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 188; Ṭabarī, III, 125.

(78) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 186.

(79) Agapius (p. 531) is more explicit: "And while the people were occupied by this struggle, the Emperor of the Romans attacked Malaṭya. He conquered the town, took its people prisoner, and returned." Cf. Michael the Syrian, II, 518.

(80) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 184.

(81) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 166 might be referring to this expedition: *fī awwal ayyām al-dawla al-mubāraka*.

There also took place an expedition against Qālīqalā which some of our sources connect closely with the fall of Malaṭya.

> Thereupon [Constantine] went to *Marj al-ḥasā*, and sent Kawsān al-Armanī to besiege Qālīqalā, whose population was then small, and which was governed by Abū Karīma. Two Armenian brothers from the inhabitants of the city of Qālīqalā tunnneled through a weak spot in the wall, went out to Kawsān, and let him into the city. He seized it, killed people and took prisoners, and sent the booty (*mā ḥawā*) to the tyrant. He then divided the prisoners among his companions.(82)

However, Khalīfa and the Syriac writers agree in making Kawshān's expedition later than 133/750-1, and distinct from the siege and fall of Malaṭya.

> [In 134] ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAlī, who was then in Syria, sent al-Ḥārith ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥarashī. The Romans came out led by Kawshān the Patricius, in Jumādā II, 134. Muqātil ibn Ḥakīm al-ʿAtkī sent his son Makhlad ibn Muqātil [against them]. He encountered the Romans in Armenia IV, and was defeated. His army surrendered.(83)

Dionysius has separate expeditions of Kawshān for 1065 and 1066 (753-754 and 754-755). In Michael the Syrian, Constantine takes Theodosioupolis (Qālīqalā) in 1066 (754-755).(84)

Agapius similarly puts the Byzantine siege of Qālīqalā in the "year of the Arabs" 136. His use of Muslim chronology shows that here he is using a Muslim source.

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(82) Balâdhurī, *Futūh*, p. 199. There is no Marj al-ḥasā in Yāqūt's *Muʿjam al-buldān*. There is, however, a Marj al-khalīj, described as *min nawāḥī thaghr al-Maṣṣīṣa*. Constantine is said (perhaps) to have besieged al-Maṣṣīṣa on this very expedition, see previous note.

(83) Khalīfa, p. 627.

(84) Dionysius, pp. 56-57; Michael the Syrian, II, 516. Confusion may have arisen from the fact that Constantine seems to have campaigned extensively in the north (but not in Qālīqalā) in 133/750. See Michael the Syrian, II, 518: "Constantin[us] vint assiéger Mélitène, et fit établir contre cette ville un retranchement (*kharakomē*). Il fit un brèche dans une partie de son mur. A la fin, il traita avec les Taiyayē qui s'y trouvaient et les laissa partir. Il emmena et fit captive la population de Claudia et de tous les villages de l'Arménie IV." Cf. Caetani, *Cronografia generale*, pp. 17, 63; Lilie, *Die Reaktion*, p. 165, n. 12.

> Constantine Emperor of the Romans attacked Qālīqalā, conquered it, and took its inhabitants prisoner. Ṣāliḥ ibn ʿAlī then attacked the Romans with Arab and Persian soldiers (*fī ajnād al-ʿArab wa'l-ʿAjam*).(85)

To sum up this section: the attack on Malaṭya seems to have taken place in 133, while the Muslims were preoccupied with their own civil wars. The date of the fall of Qālīqalā cannot be fixed more precisely than after 133 and before 137. But in any case, these two events were separate.

2.4 *Establishment of ʿAbbāsid Authority, 133-136*

Tabarī reports that in the year 133, Ṣāliḥ ibn ʿAlī sent his nephew Saʿīd ibn ʿAbdallāh to conduct a summer raid "beyond the pass" (*li-ghazw al-ṣā'ifa warā'a al-darb*).(86) Khalīfa, however, says that in that year the caliph Abū 'l-ʿAbbās sent one Muḥammad ibn al-Naḍr ibn Yarīm al-Ḥimyarī, who raided as far as Ṭuwāna (Tyana).(87) Still other sources state, however, that no *ṣā'ifa* occurred at all from 125 until 138.(88) It certainly would seem strange for any raid to be launched in the very year when Isḥāq ibn Muslim was besieged at Sumaysāṭ, and when Byzantine forces were ravaging the *thughūr* district. These latter events, however, are described in the Muslim chronicles under both the years 132 and 133, which means that they occurred in mid-750.(89) A Muslim expedition such as Ṭabarī or Khalīfa describes could therefore be reasonably ascribed to the summer of 751, when things were calmer.

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(85) Agapius, p. 538.

(86) Ṭabarī, III, 74. Cf. Caetani, *Cronografia generale*, p. 18.

(87) Khalīfa, p. 626.

(88) Yaʿqūbī, II, 470; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, p. 59. Cf. Lilie, *Die Reaktion*, p. 170.

(89) The year 133 began on 9 August 750.

It would not have been inconsistent with the position of Ṣāliḥ ibn ʿAlī to command such an expedition, in any case. He had been confirmed, together with his brother ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAlī, over the *ajnād al-Shām* in 133,(90) even though he was based in Egypt and Palestine during the reign of Abū 'l-ʿAbbās (below, 2.6.1). It is also possible that since Ṣāliḥ played a leading role in expeditions which took place in the late 130's, one of these raids may have been misdated to 133.

Otherwise we have little information on the *thughūr* in the last years of the short reign of Abū 'l-ʿAbbās. It appears that the ʿAbbāsids established their authority in Syria and al-Jazīra with considerable harshness.(91) Some sources report that the ʿAbbāsids razed the walls of the cities of these two provinces. According to the anonymous Syriac chronicle, "Abū Jaʿfar destroyed the wall of Edessa and of all the cities, except Mayyāfāriqīn [and Ḥarrān]."(92) But the frontier fortresses themselves must have been allowed to keep their walls.(93) As the fate of Malaṭya and Qālīqalā shows, it was the Byzantines who sought to destroy the walls of the frontier towns in these years, and the Muslims who tried to build and maintain them.

Abū Jaʿfar, the future al-Manṣūr, became governor of al-Jazīra, Armenia and Azerbaijan as early as 132.(94) He appointed sub-governors of these

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(90) Ṭabarī, III, 73.

(91) Dionysius, pp. 55-56, a tyranny of the Persians over the Arabs and the Aramaeans.

(92) *Chronicle of 1234*, I, 262. Similarly, the *Chronicle of 846*, p. 179: "Eo [ʿAbdallāh] iubente, eversi sunt muri civitatum Syrorum." See also Dionysius, p. 56; Theophanes, p. 426.

(93) Theophanes says that Antioch was the only city of Syria allowed to keep its walls intact.

(94) Ṭabarī, III, 57-58; Yaʿqūbī, II, 430.

three provinces,(95) many of whom were to figure prominently in the history of the *thughūr* in the years of Abū Jaʿfar's own caliphate, and who already, at this early point, can be seen "rotating" through these governorships for brief terms, as some of them were to do for many years afterwards.

Did the Byzantine frontier district constitute a distinct administrative entity in any sense in these years? The provinces attributed to Abū Jaʿfar do not expressly include the *thughūr*, although this might be implied in the designation *wa-kāna wāliyan ʿalā 'l-Jazīra wa-mā yalīhā*.(96)

2.4.1 Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl

During the rebellion of ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAlī in 137 (see following section), we find Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl ensconced in Shimshāṭ with 5000 troops.(97) ʿAbdallāh tried at that time to win over Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl, together with the governors of al-Jazīra, Armenia and Azerbaijan. We might infer from this that during the reign of Abū 'l-ʿAbbās the *thughūr* had become something of an independent district, comparable to those three provinces. Indeed, the forces at Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl's disposal in 137 outnumbered those of the governor of al-Jazīra by a thousand.(98) Was Ibn Ṣūl governor of the *thughūr*?

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(95) Armenia: Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl, Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṣubayḥ al-Kindī, Yazīd ibn Usayd al-Sulamī. Al-Jazīra: al-Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭaba, who then replaced Yazīd ibn Usayd as governor of Armenia. Azerbaijan: Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl, Mālik ibn Haytham. Yaʿqūbī, II, 430; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III, 106; Vasmer, *Chronologie der arabischen Statthalter von Armenien unter den Abbasiden*, p. 7.

(96) Azdī, p. 159.

(97) Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III, 106.

(98) *Ansāb*, III, 106, Muqātil ibn Ḥākim al-ʿAkkī was besieged in Ḥarrān with 4000 soldiers.

Muhammad ibn Ṣūl, ancestor of the historian Muhammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī, was a *mawlā* of Turkish origin, and one of the twelve original *nuqabā'*.(99) He became an important commander for the ʿAbbāsids, particularly at the Zāb in 132. He conquered Armenia for them(100) and was afterwards appointed governor of the unruly province of Mosul in 133.(101) The populace of Mosul, who according to the *Ansāb* consisted of "*khawārij*, thieves and merchants,"(102) rejected him, refusing to have a "*mawlā* of Khathʿam" as their amīr.(103) They were, of course, afraid of being at the mercy of the Khurāsānīs.(104) Nonetheless, it was Ibn Ṣūl's inferior social position which inflamed the Mawsilīs, apparently more than the fact that he had already thrown a number of their fellow-citizens into the river.(105) He then became governor of Azerbaijan, where he apparently had no such problems, since he is reported there for 134 and 135.(106) It should be remembered that Azerbaijan was a border province in its own right.(107) We do not hear of him again until 137, when he appears with his army at Shimshāṭ. What his

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(99) Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa'l-Muttaqī*, tr. M. Canard, I, 27-28. The traditions concerning his alleged descent from a prince of Jurjān are probably spurious, *ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

(100) Yaʿqūbī, III, 429, where he is described as the first ʿAbbāsid governor of that province. Cf. Vasmer, *Chronologie*, p. 7.

(101) Ṭabarī, III, 47; Azdī, pp. 141, 145f.

(102) *Ansāb*, III, 281.

(103) Azdī, p. 146; Ibn al-Athīr, V, 340.

(104) Crone, *Slaves*, p. 61, n. 428; Omar, *ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, pp. 312-314. Muhammad ibn Ṣūl's successor in Mosul, Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad, did massacre the Arab inhabitants.

(105) *Ansāb*, III, 281. They clamor for an ʿAbbāsid governor, though this turns out to be much worse for them.

(106) Ṭabarī, III, 81, 84.

(107) Ṭabarī, III, 383, a *thaghr min al-thughūr*.

position was then is not clear, but in any case he was not then governor of Azerbaijan, since this position was then held by Mālik ibn Haytham.(108) Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl's status must not in fact have been very high at that moment, since we find Abū Ja`far using him as a spy.

> Al-Manṣūr infiltrated (*dassa*) Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl into `Abdallāh ibn `Alī's camp, to assassinate him if possible, and to write to al-Manṣūr concerning him. [Ibn Ṣūl] went to [`Abdallāh] and accompanied him. One of `Abdallāh's spies in al-Manṣūr's camp then wrote to `Abdallāh: "Attack Ibn Ṣūl before he attacks you!" (*sul bi'bn Ṣūl qabla an yaṣūla bika*). `Abdallāh then killed him and two of his sons.(109)

This undignified end to Ibn Ṣūl's career makes it unlikely that he was then governor of anything. It further seems that the *thughūr* then most likely did *not* have anything like the status of the provinces al-Jazīra, Armenia and Azerbaijan.

2.5 *Revolt of `Abdallāh ibn `Alī*

2.5.1 *Expedition of 136*

`Abdallāh ibn `Alī's bid for the caliphate in 137 was preceded by preparations for a major expedition in the *thughūr* which never took place.

> In that year [136] `Abdallāh ibn `Alī came to Abū 'l-`Abbās at al-Anbar. Abū 'l-`Abbās set him over the *ṣā'ifa* with an army of men of Khurāsān, Syria, al-Jazīra and Mosul. He set off and reached Dulūk [where he remained] without entering the pass (*wa-lam yudrib*).(110)

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(108) Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III, 106.

(109) *Ansāb*, III, 281.

(110) Ṭabarī, III, 91; Cf. Ya`qūbī, II, 437-38 (where `Abdallāh is appointed by letter, and has already entered the pass when news reaches him of Abū 'l-`Abbās' death). See also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III, 105; Caetani, *Cronografia generale*, p. 85; Salem, "War and Peace," p. 36.

There had not been a *ṣā'ifa* since 133 (and the existence of that one can be disputed). In general the practice had fallen into disuse since the last years of the Umayyad dynasty. Why was such a large army massed under `Abdallāh's command at this point? Naturally, `Abdallāh may already have had it in mind to outmaneuver his nephew Abū Ja`far. Nonetheless, it was the caliph's command which brought the expedition into being.

With all the confusion concerning the chronology of these years, in particular the fall of Qālīqalā (above, 2.3), it is practically impossible to say if this expedition was intended to avenge any particular Byzantine agression. But it is most likely that Abū 'l-`Abbās wished to demonstrate the strength and legitimacy of the new dynasty by means of a large expedition, the first of its kind in many years. A passage from the *Ansāb* demonstrates this: at about the same time, when Abū Muslim asked permission to go on the pilgrimage, Abū 'l-`Abbās replied, "*Jihād* is more meritorious than pilgrimage" (*inna 'l-jihāda afḍalu min al-ḥajji*).(111)

2.5.2 The Revolt of 137

`Abdallāh ibn `Alī's bid for the caliphate is important in the history of the *thughūr* because it was made with the large expeditionary force assembled to invade Byzantine territory, and because the tensions and rivalries (especially between Khurāsānīs and Syro-Jazīrans) which proved crucial in the conflict remained important for some time afterwards. Other aspects of `Abdallāh's revolt, though important, need not be discussed here.(112)

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(111) *Ansāb*, III, 184.

(112) Lassner, *Shaping of `Abbāsid Rule*, pp. 31-35, has discussed the basis of `Abdallāh's claim to the caliphate. See also Omar, *`Abbāsid Caliphate*, pp. 183-192, and Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, pp. 58-61.

> ['Abdallāh] decided to claim the caliphate. He harangued the army (*wa-khaṭaba al-nās*) between Dulūk and Ra'bān....Ḥumayd ibn Qaḥṭaba swore the bay'a to him. 'Abdallāh then stopped at Qinnasrīn, and set Zufar ibn 'Āṣim over it as governor.....He wrote to al-Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭaba, who was in Armenia, and to Mālik ibn al-Haytham, who was in Azerbaijan, and to Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl, who was staying in Sumaysāt with a force of 5000 men. 'Abdallāh called upon them to recognize him, but they refused. He then went to Ḥarrān, which was under the command of Muqātil ibn Ḥakīm al-'Akkī, then governor of al-Jazīra, with a garrison of 4000. 'Abdallāh besieged him with catapults, whereupon Muqātil sought a truce (*al-ṣulḥ*). 'Abdallāh then made his own brother 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn 'Alī governor of al-Jazīra and heir apparent.(113)

Al-Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭaba, Mālik ibn al-Haytham and Muqātil ibn Ḥakīm al-'Akkī were all at this point technically subgovernors of Abū Ja'far, and remained loyal to him. Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl has been discussed above (2.4.1). He and his garrison at Shimshāt were not part of the expeditionary force mustered at Dulūk. This army consisted, of course, of men from other regions, and with other preoccupations. We may see this in the ease with which Abū Muslim played upon the fears of the Syrians, creating mistrust between 'Abdallāh and his army, as well as among the different groups within that army.(114)

The "ethnic mix" of 'Abdallāh's army, characteristic of the early 'Abbāsid expeditionary forces,(115) proved its undoing. 'Abdallāh turned against

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(113) Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III, 106; cf. Ṭabarī, III, 92-95; Ya'qūbī, II, 438; Agapius, p. 534; Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubda*, p. 57; Caetani, *Cronografia generale*, pp. 112-113.

(114) Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III, 107-108; Ṭabarī, III, 95-96 (a simpler version, where Abū Muslim claims to have been made governor of Syria).

(115) See Dionysius, p. 72, for a colorful description of a Khurāsānī army (this is the one which besieged Kamkh in 149, and may represent scrapings from the barrel):

> Cette armée était composée de divers peuples, différents d'aspect, [professant] tous les cultes. Parmi eux, les uns adoraient le feu; d'autres le soleil; le matin ils se tournaient et adoraient au levant, au milieu du jour ils adoraient au midi, et le soir au couchant; d'autres adoraient la lune, d'autres les étoiles, d'autres les chevaux; d'autres s'étaient fabriqué divers simulacres de toute espèce d'idoles, qu'ils portaient avec eux pour les adorer....Cette armée était un mélange de tous les peuples et était appelée pour cela "la Plénitude

Ḥumayd ibn Qaḥṭaba, his only major Khurāsānī ally, and then against the Khurāsānī contingent in general.(116)

'Abdallāh's bid for the throne has been described as part of a "Syrian attempt at a come-back."(117) In particular, it is claimed that "old associates of Marwân" such as Zufar ibn 'Āṣim al-Hilālī and Ja'far ibn Ḥanẓala al-Bahrānī hoped for a restoration of the old order in some form.(118)

The sources do not, however, inform us of the precise intentions of these men. They say only that they served in 'Abdallāh's army, that 'Abdallāh made Zufar governor of Qinnasrīn (see above), and that afterwards they held high positions under al-Manṣūr, and were put in charge of the *ṣawā'if* on several occasions. The loyalty of the Syrian soldiers to their former Umayyad commanders is uncontested; as is the importance of the loyalty of these men to

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royale."

Il y avait en effet parmi eux des Sindhiens, des Alains, des Khazares, des Mèdes, des Perses, des 'Aqouléens, des Arabes, des Kousanites, des Turcs; en sorte que nous pouvons dire que c'était un essaim de sauterelles de toutes les variétés.

Il se commetait parmi eux des péchés sans nombre et de toute espèce; mais nous les passons sous silence à cause de leur énormité et de leur abomination, et aussi pour ne pas faire souiller la langue du lecteur ni l'oreille de ceux qui l'écoutent; car c'est une souillure pour la bouche de les prononcer.

(116) The degree to which he persecuted the Khurāsānīs varies according to the various sources, see Lassner, *Shaping of 'Abbāsid Rule*, pp. 35-37, especially n. 30. See also Agapius, p. 534: *wa-kāna ['Abdallāh] yuqaddimu al-'Arab 'alā abnā Khurāsān wa-yuthīruhum fī 'l-marātib wa'l-karāmāt wa-bada'a yaqtulu al-'Ajam wa-ya'khudhu amwālahum wa-yadfa'uhum ilā 'l-'Arab.*

(117) Crone, *Slaves*, p. 71; Omar, *'Abbāsid Caliphate*, pp. 183f.; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 59.

(118) Kennedy, *loc. cit.* Both these men were to play important roles in the *thughūr*. Zufar's father 'Āsim had been governor of Armenia under Marwān, Ya'qūbī II, 404; cf. Ṭabarī, III, 94; *Ansāb*, III, 105. Ṭabarī, III, 224, says that Ja'far ibn Ḥanẓala was tall and leprous (*wa-kāna abraṣa ṭuwālan*).

the governors and sovereigns whom they chose to support. What is less sure is the extent to which a Syrian "revival" was possible. The behavior of the Syrians in `Abdallāh's army shows how uncohesive a group they had become.

Nonetheless, the `Abbāsids understood that the Syro-Jazīrans were both potentially dangerous to them, and necessary. This realization led to their quick "rehabilitation."

> Abū Muslim wrote to al-Manṣūr, informing him that the Jazīrans and Syrians were serving as garrisons in fortified places in the *thughūr* against the enemy (*bi-mawāḍi` min al-thughūr mushaḥḥana lil-`aduww*), and that the *thughūr* could only be held by them (*wa-annahā lā tusaddu illā bihim*). He asked for lenience towards them, and referred to the fact that their notables had asked that they be reconciled with the Caliph and returned to his good graces (*wa-ashāra `alayhi bi'stislāḥ wujūhihim wa'-stinā`ihim*). He went with a number of their nobles (*ashrāf*) on a delegation to the Caliph.(119)

Abū Jaifar must have known that the *thughūr* would require more manpower, as well as the skills in border warfare which many of the Syro-Jazīrans had acquired. His Khurāsānī troops were too much in demand elsewhere, in these years of constant revolts on all sides. This left him no choice but to leave the Syro-Jazīrans to man the Byzantine front. On the other hand, it is perhaps too much to say, as does Kennedy, that this constituted an "agreement" with the Syrians.(120)

What is more striking than the integration of the Syro-Jazīrans into the new order of things is the supreme importance of the loyalty of their commanders to the various governors and sovereigns. Isḥāq ibn Muslim and Yazīd

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(119) Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III, 109.

(120) "They were to be stationed as garrisons on the Byzantine frontier. They retained their strength and organisation; their leaders remained unpunished and continued to enjoy real political power....they had secured for themselves a useful, if secondary, place in the new power structure. It was a measure of the success of this agreement that not until the confusion which followed the death of Harun in 193 (809), was there any serious threat to Abbasid rule in the area." Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, pp. 60-61.

ibn Usayd, both Qaysīs of Jazīran origin, had served Marwān in the "Umayyad North," and now become equally tenacious in their loyalty to their new liege, Abū Ja`far; while Abū Ja`far's policy in this northwestern region relied upon them as much as upon men from the East such as al-Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭaba and Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl.

`Abdallāh ibn `Alī may have owed his failure to his shortcomings as a commander (though his previous history would argue against this). But an army assembled primarily for purposes of plunder and show proved too brittle against so determined an opponent as Abū Muslim with his Khurāsānī army.

2.6 *Rebuilding the Thughūr*

For several years after the defeat of `Abdallāh ibn `Alī the *thughūr al-Jazīra*, then the principal theater of war with the Byzantines, became the object of renewed activity. Several important fortress towns were rebuilt and provided with garrisons. Most significantly, the *ṣawā'if* were resumed on a more or less regular (annual) basis. These two closely related phenomena will be discussed below in separate sections. First, however, comes the crucial question of how the area was ruled and by whom.

2.6.1 *Ṣāliḥ ibn `Alī*

The name which we find mentioned most often in connection with this activity is that of Ṣāliḥ ibn `Alī ibn `Abdallāh ibn al-`Abbās, who, like `Abdallāh ibn `Alī, was one of the uncles of the first two `Abbāsid caliphs (the *`umūma*). Ṣāliḥ had pursued Marwān II in Palestine and Egypt, and commanded the forces which killed the last Umayyad caliph.(121) He was rewarded with estates in Palestine formerly belonging to the Umayyads.(122) He became gov-

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(121) Ṭabarī, III, 48-50; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III, 100, 104.

ernor of Egypt briefly in 133/750-751, and then, after serving as governor of Palestine from 133 until 135, he resumed the governorship of Egypt (apparently combined with that of Palestine) in 136.(123) During the revolt of his brother `Abdallāh ibn `Alī, Ṣāliḥ either remained neutral or inclined to Abū Ja`far.(124) He apparently began the year 137 as governor of Egypt,(125) but during that year became governor of "Aleppo, Qinnasrīn and Ḥimṣ," taking up residence in Aleppo.(126)

Ṣāliḥ thus took his brother's place in northern Syria. There he established a "sub-dynasty," whose members were to play leading roles in the history of the early `Abbāsid caliphate, as well as in that of the *thughūr*.(127)

Upon his arrival in northern Syria, Ṣāliḥ became involved in the rebuilding of the *thughūr* and the *ṣawā'if* (below, 2.6.3-4, 2.7). Nevertheless, al-Ya`qūbī is the only one of our sources who attributes a title to Ṣāliḥ involving the *thughūr*.

> Ṣāliḥ ibn `Alī remained as governor of al-Sha'm and the *thughūr*, sending commanders on raids against the land of the Romans....(*wa-aqāma Ṣāliḥ ibn `Alī wāliyan `alā 'l-Sha'm wa'l-thughūr wa-huwa yughzī bilād al-rūm umarā' min qibalihi*).(128)

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(122) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 143; cf. Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, pp. 48-49.

(123) Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, pp. 97-105; Ṭabarī, III, 75, 81, 84; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 52; A. Grohmann, EI1, IV, 112 (prolonging Ṣāliḥ's governorship of Egypt at the expense of his governorship of Palestine).

(124) Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III, 108-109.

(125) Ṭabarī, III, 121.

(126) Ibn al-`Adīm, *Zubda*, p. 59.

(127) Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 74.

(128) Ya`qūbī, II, 470.

Elsewhere al-Ya`qūbī refers to Ṣāliḥ as governor of "Qinnasrīn and al-`Awāṣim."(129) Otherwise, the sources describe Ṣāliḥ as governor of "Damascus, Ḥimṣ and Qinnasrīn,"(130) or of "Aleppo, Qinnasrīn and Ḥimṣ,"(131) without mentioning the frontier area, even though all agree in assigning Ṣāliḥ a leading role in that region, at least until the year 142.

2.6.2 Wālī al-Jazīra wa-Thughūrihā

Elsewhere, however, we find others mentioned as governors of the *thughūr*.

> Then [al-Manṣūr] decided to send `Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Ibrāhīm al-Imām as governor (*wālī*) of al-Jazīra and its *thughūr*. He set off in the year 140, accompanied by al-Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭaba with Khurāsānī troops (*fī ajnād ahl Khurāsān*).(132)

According to al-Balādhurī, al-Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭaba then showed such generosity to the workers and soldiers as to challenge `Abd al-Wahhāb's supremacy, receiving confirmation in this from the Caliph himself. This does not speak well for `Abd al-Wahhāb's authority as governor of "al-Jazīra and its *thughūr*." In any case, we soon find him supplanted in that office.

> And in that year [142], according to al-Wāqidī, Abū Ja`far appointed his brother al-`Abbās ibn Muḥammad as governor of al-Jazīra and its *thughūr*, attaching to him a number of officers (*quwwād*). Al-`Abbās remained there for a while.(133)

This al-`Abbās had already been mentioned in the sources as sharing the command with his uncle Ṣāliḥ ibn `Alī during the construction of Malaṭya in 139 and in the *ṣā'ifa* which occurred afterwards.(134) It is possible, of

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(129) Ya`qūbī, II, 461.

(130) Ya`qūbī, II, 469; Ṭabarī, III, 138.

(131) Ibn al-`Adīm, *Zubda*, p. 59.

(132) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 187.

(133) Ṭabarī, III, 141. Note that Ṭabarī does not mention any part played by `Abd al-Wahhāb.

(134) Ṭabarī, III, 125.

course, that `Abd al-Wahhāb preceded his cousin al-`Abbās in the position of *wālī al-Jazīra wa-thughūrihā* by two years. Arguing against this harmonization of Balādhurī and Ṭabarī is the fact that the sources present rival versions of these events (the rebuilding of Malaṭya and the subsequent expedition: these will be dealt with in the following sections), ascribing them to the pair `Abd al-Wahhāb and al-Ḥasan (Balādhurī) or al-`Abbās and Ṣāliḥ ibn `Alī (Ṭabarī).(135)

It thus appears likely that the two cousins have become confused in the sources. It is also not clear who was governor of al-Jazīra in the years 140-142. Ḥumayd ibn Qaḥṭaba is the most likely candidate, but at all events *not* `Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Ibrāhīm.(136) Al-`Abbās ibn Muḥammad did enjoy a long tenure as governor of al-Jazīra, where he stayed from 142 until 155.(137) We may only note that the title *wālī al-Jazīra wa-thughūrihā* emerges during the years 140-142, together with the practice of associating princes of the blood with the *ṣawā'if*.

But what about Ṣāliḥ ibn `Alī, whom Ya`qūbī describes as *wālī Qinnasrīn wa'l-thughūr*? The sources may be reduced to two versions of these events. Ṭabarī, Balādhurī and other sources may be harmonized (though certainly not in every detail) into a "synoptic" version according to which the *thughūr* were attached before or around 142 to the authority of the governor of al-Jazīra, which office was occupied by al-`Abbās ibn Muḥammad from then until 155. In this "synoptic" version we hear of little or no involvement on Ṣāliḥ's part in the frontier region after 142, even though he remained in

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(135) Ṭabarī, III, 125 may be referring to a separate set of events, but confusion is possible at any rate.

(136) Ṭabarī, III, 121; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 186; Vasmer, *Chronologie*, pp. 8-9.

(137) Ṭabarī, III, 141, 280, 374; Vasmer, *Chronologie*, pp. 8-9.

power in Syria until his death in 152.(138) In Ya`qūbī, on the other hand, we find not only that Ṣāliḥ was in charge of Syria and the *thughūr*, but that he was responsible for many *ṣawā'if* both before and after 142.

Another solution comes to mind, namely, that Ṣāliḥ controlled the south-western part of the frontier district only, that is, the *thughūr al-Shām*, while al-`Abbās controlled the *thughūr al-Jazīra*. This would make the Muslim geographers' division into Syrian and Jazīran *thughūr* valid at least for the first decades of the `Abbāsid period. However, in the sources we find rival versions of events, which seem to reflect competition over authority in the *thughūr* between the governors of these two provinces, and which in any case preclude such a neat solution.

Whatever the exact position may have been, Al-Manṣūr clearly wished to avoid a repetition of the events of 137, when his uncle `Abdallāh had made a serious bid for the caliphate using Syro-Jazīran forces operating (or about to operate) in the frontier district. Ṣāliḥ had largely inherited `Abdallāh's position; and so to keep Ṣāliḥ in his place, al-Manṣūr would seem to have placed authority in the *thughūr* with his brother al-`Abbās in al-Jazīra.

There is nothing, in any case, to suggest that Ṣāliḥ ever showed overt disloyalty to al-Mansūr. A close examination of his source does not bear out Kennedy's suggestion that al-Manṣūr bought Ṣāliḥ's loyalty during `Abdallāh's

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(138) Ibn al-`Adīm, *Zubda*, p. 60. Ibn al-`Adīm there reports having seen *fulūs* minted in Aleppo in 146, inscribed *mimmā amara bihi 'l-amīr Ṣāliḥ ibn `Alī akramahu 'llāh*. Cf. G. C. Miles, *Rare Islamic Coins*, #372 (p. 112); S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, IX, #90k (p. 94). Similar coins were struck in 147 (American Numismatic Society 1917.216.244) and 148 (ANS 1002.1.206, University Museum).

(139) *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 59. Ṣāliḥ and his brother Sulaymān in Bas-

revolt.(139) On the other hand, Balādhurī does report(140) that Ṣāliḥ actually took the field for Abū Ja'farin 137, against [al-Ḥakam] ibn Ḍa'bān [al-Judhāmī].

The problem with this is that al-Kindī,(141) who describes this campaign (or rather, campaigns) of Sālih against Ibn Ḍa'bān in some detail, seems to imply that Ibn Ḍa'bān was operating on his own, apparently as a Khārijite leader. In the *Ansāb*, however, it is clearly stated that Ibn Ḍa'bān took 'Abdallāh ibn 'Alī's side in 137, and was appointed his governor of Palestine.(142) This version makes more sense, for a Khārijite revolt of this magnitude (forcing Ṣāliḥ to send or lead several expeditions, and ending with a harvest of 3000 Khārijite heads sent to Fusṭāṭ) would have been unlikely to occur in Palestine, a province usually immune to this disease.(143)

In any case, Manṣūr's distrust of Ṣāliḥ ran deep. We see this in Ya'qūbī's account of Ṣāliḥ's death, which occurred in 152.

> Sālih ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abdallāh ibn 'Abbās acted as Abū Ja'far's governor in Qinnasrīn and al-'Awāṣim. Word reached [Abū Ja'far] of [Ṣāliḥ's] numerous [soldiers] and *mawālī* and he feared him. He then wrote to him, ordering him to come to him. [Ṣāliḥ] wrote back, pleading grave illness. [Abū Ja'far] did not accept this excuse--although Ṣāliḥ actually had consumption. Thereupon Ṣāliḥ made his way to Baghdad. When Abū Ja'far saw him, he dismissed

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ra "remained discreetly neutral--perhaps encouraged by the large subsidiies Manṣur paid them," referring to *Ansāb*, fol. 578 (=III, 105-107).

(140) *Ansāb*, III, 108-109.

(141) *Wūlat Miṣr*, pp. 103-104.

(142) Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III, 105-106.

(143) L. Veccia Vaglieri, "Le vicende del hārigismo in epoca abbaside," *Rivista di Studi Orientali*, XXV (1949), p. 38, n. 7, remarks that "la Palestina non figura fra i paesi infectati dai Hārigiti," but notes this event (involving the 3000 heads) as an exception. However, her sources (Ibn Taghribirdī, I, 331 and Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Aegypten zur Zeit der Chalifen*, II, 4) apparently follow Kindī and not the *Ansāb*. Ibn Ḍa'bān also appears at Ṭabarī, III, 47, seizing the province and treasury of Palestine during Marwān's retreat to Egypt.

> him, and accorded him no honors or welcome. Ṣāliḥ then said, "The Commander of the Faithful has given up on me, and has done this to me. But God will revive the rotting bones" (*wa'llāhu yuḥyī 'l-`iẓāma wa-hiya ramīm*). When Ṣāliḥ had reached `Ānāt, a district of the Euphrates, he died. He was Abū Ja`far's contemporary.(144)

2.6.3 The Rebuilding of Malaṭya and the Expedition of 139

Malaṭya, the most important of the *thughūr al-Jazīra*, had been inhabited in Umayyad times,(145) and then taken and destroyed by Constantine V in 133.(146) The Muslims now rebuilt this town, by most accounts in 139 or or 140. However, the sources present three different versions of the rebuilding of Malaṭya, and of the expedition which was launched from there at almost the same time.

The most commonly held version has it that Ṣāliḥ ibn `Alī and al-`Abbās ibn Muḥammad raised a large force of Syro-Jazīrans and Khurāsānīs, built Malaṭya, and then went on campaign in 139.(147) Another version, usually cited as authoritative,(148) states that in 139 al-Manṣūr assigned the task of restoring Malaṭya to Ṣāliḥ, but that in the following year (140) he sent `Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Ibrāhīm (then newly appointed *wālī al-Jazīra wa-*

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(144) Ya`qūbī, II, 461.

(145) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 185.

(146) *Futūḥ*, pp. 186-187; above, 2.3.

(147) Ṭabarī, III, 125; Azdī 171; Ya`qūbī, II, 469 (where this is ascribed to 138, but where nothing else happens along the frontier in the following two years); Ibn al-`Adīm, *Zubda*, p. 59, where Ṣāliḥ and his son al-Faḍl conduct an expedition *bi-ahl al-Shām*, with no mention either of al-`Abbās or of Malaṭya.

(148) E. Honigmann, "Malaṭya," EI1, III, 193; Haldon and Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eight Century," p. 109; P. von Sivers, "Taxes and Trade in the `Abbāsid Thughūr," p. 25. See also Caetani, *Cronografia generale*, pp. 143-144, 163-164; and Salem, "War and Peace," pp. 36-41.

thughūrihā, see above, 2.6.2) to do the job.(149) According to Balādhurī (but not Khalīfa), `Abd al-Wahhāb was accompanied by al-Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭaba. Balādhurī devotes a great deal of space to the building of Malaṭya, emphasizing the speed with which this was accomplished and the rivalry between the two leaders.

Elsewhere, we find a third version, according to which Ja`far ibn Ḥanẓala al-Bahrānī either led an expedition(150) or went to Malaṭya.(151) Khalīfa gives the longest such version:

> [In the year 139] Ja`far ibn Ḥanẓala al-Bahrānī went out to Malatya, which was then in ruins, and camped there (*fa-`askara*). `Abd al-Wāḥid went out to Malaṭya. He planted seeds and baked lime in great quantities. Then he returned. The tyrant [Constantine] then dispatched forces which burned the crops (*fa-wajjaha al-ṭāghiya fa-ḥaraqa al-zar`*).(152)

The name `Abd al-Wāḥid here is likely to be a copyist's error for `Abd al-Wahhāb.(153)

There has probably been a confusion of different events here. Ṭabarī also reports an expedition for 140, led by `Abd al-Wahhāb and al-Ḥasan (but not directly related to the building of Malaṭya). Balādhurī reports an alternative version of the 140 expedition, led by `Abd al-Wahhāb. Here al-Ḥasan does not figure, but instead we have Naṣr ibn Mālik al-Khuzā`ī and Naṣr ibn

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(149) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 186-187; Khalīfa, pp. 640-641; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 632.

(150) Ṭabarī, III, 125.

(151) Azdī, p. 171, the caliph sends Ja`far ibn Ḥanẓala to Malaṭya, where he plants seeds and bakes lime (*fa-zara`a wa-ṭabakha kilsan*), as occurs in Khalīfa's version (see next note).

(152) Khalīfa, p. 640.

(153) Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 634, citing Khalīfa, has only `Abd al-Wahhāb. There was no `Abd al-Wāḥid in the `Abbāsid family at the time, and of other holders of the name, only `Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Ziyād ibn `Amr al-`Atkī (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III, 175) is a possibility.

Sa`d al-Kātib, *mawlā al-anṣār*.(154)

This 140 expedition meets a large Byzantine force of 100,000 supposedly led by Constantine himself, who withdraws from the Jayḥān upon hearing of the Arabs' large numbers.(155)

However, those accounts which assign the building of Malaṭya and the *ṣā'ifa* to the pair Ṣāliḥ and al-`Abbās agree in placing both events in the year 139 (or 138).(156) They describe no military activity, booty, or prisoners taken. They do, however, give the curious detail that:

> Ṣāliḥ's two sisters, Umm `Isā and Lubāba, daughters of `Alī, went on the expedition with him. They had previously vowed that if the rule (*mulk*) of the Umayyads ended, they would perform *jihād* in the path of God.(157)

To whose advantage was it to have these pious ladies endure the rigors of the *ṣā'ifa*? While the `Abbāsid cause in general could be considered to profit, Ṣāliḥ appears to be the prime beneficiary of the fanfare attached to this expedition of 139 (according to some sources the first since 125,(158) and in any case since 133). And it is striking that in most accounts, Ṣāliḥ is omitted from the expedition of 140, and thereafter does not play an important role in the *thughūr*.

We may conclude that the expedition of 139 was probably led by Ṣāliḥ, that of 140 by someone else, most likely by `Abd al-Wahhāb; and that these two events have become hopelessly confused with the building of Malaṭya, so that

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(154) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 188. Cf. Dionysius, p. 67.

(155) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 188; Ṭabarī, III, 125. Cf. Lilie, *Die Reaktion*, p. 165; Salem, "War and Peace," p. 40.

(156) Ṭabarī, III, 125; Azdī, p. 171; Ya`qūbī, II, 469.

(157) Ṭabarī, III, 125; Azdī, p. 171. Cf. Salem, "War and Peace," pp. 33-34.

(158) Ya`qūbī 170; Ibn al-`Adīm, *Zubda*, 59.

we can not know with certainty who was actually responsible for it. Underlying all this is the confusion in the sources regarding Ṣāliḥ, and the corresponding problem of who actually held authority in the *thughūr*.

We are left, finally, with the third version, involving Ja'far ibn Ḥanẓala. This Qaysī, a former companion of Marwān, had been prominent in 'Abdallāh's rebellion, and then had become one of Abū Ja'far's closest advisors(159) and military commanders in times of crisis.(160) But Ja'far, in any case, then returned to Iraq, and did not become part of the picture in the *thughūr*: a picture in which the position occupied by Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Alī remains a crucial problem.

2.6.4 *Al-Maṣṣīṣa, Adhana, Mar'ash*

The 'Abbāsids also directed their attention to these three towns of the *thughūr al-Shām*. Al-Maṣṣīṣa, on the river Jayḥān, lay in ruins, and its surviving population lived outside its walls. In the accounts concerning its restoration in 139-141, we again find versions which describe Ṣāliḥ as in charge of (at least this section) of the *thughūr*. In contrast with Malaṭya, these towns, once restored, did not immediately serve as bases for expeditions. In these accounts Ṣāliḥ sends Jabrīl ibn Yaḥyā al-Bajalī to rebuild Malaṭya. Other versions have the caliph giving orders directly, with no role at all assigned to Ṣāliḥ.(161)

> In the year 139, al-Manṣūr gave orders that the city of al-Maṣṣīṣa should be restored and repopulated. Its wall had fallen into ruins from earthquakes, and its inhabitants had dwindled, living outside the city. He built the city wall and installed

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(159) Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, pp. 59-60.

(160) *Ibid.*, p. 68.

(161) Ṭabarī, III, 135; cf. Ya'qūbī, II, 466; Azdī, p. 173, where al-Manṣūr writes to Ṣāliḥ, but (as in the case of Malaṭya) sends someone else (here Jabrīl ibn Yaḥyā) to do the job.

> settlers in the year 140, calling it "al-Ma`mūra." He built there a cathedral mosque in the place of a *haykal* which had been there, making it several times larger than the mosque of 'Umar.(162)

Adhana was also rebuilt at about this time, according to Balādhurī:

> Abū Nu`mān al-Anṭakī and others said that Adhana was built in the year 141 or 142, as Khurāsānī troops camped there under the command of Maslama ibn Yaḥyā al-Bajalī, together with men commanded by Mālik ibn Adham al-Bāhilī. Ṣāliḥ ibn `Alī sent them.(163)

Events in al-Maṣṣīṣa and Adhana are thus closely connected, just as the towns themselves are geographically close.(164) We do not have information on the earlier career of Jabrīl ibn Yaḥyā, but can see that he was a Khurāsānī officer who later led Syro-Jazīran troops in Armenia for al-Manṣūr.(165) His brother Maslama makes his first appearance in the sources here.(166)

It is strange that these two Khurāsānī brothers should appear here under the command of Ṣāliḥ. However, Ṣāliḥ's cooperation, if not leadership, was probably necessary, if only for geographical reasons. Furthermore, an "ethnic mix" of soldiers seems to have been deliberately sought. Thus, we have Mālik ibn Adham ibn Muḥriz al-Bāhilī, who previously had surrendered with his Syrian troops at Nihrawān to the `Abbāsid armies.(167) As in the case of Malaṭya, al-Manṣūr put Khurāsānī and Syro-Jazīran commanders together.(168)

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(162) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 166.

(163) *Futūḥ*, p. 168. Cf. Haldon and Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier," pp. 107-108.

(164) G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 131.

(165) Ṭabarī, III, 328; Ya`qūbī, II, 446f.; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 179.

(166) Crone, *Slaves*, p. 179.

(167) Crone, *Slaves*, p. 169; Ṭabarī, III, 2, 6,f.; Khalīfa, pp. 600f.

(168) This is more evidence against the neat division into Syrian and Jazīran

Khalīfa dates the building of Adhana to 144, with Ṣāliḥ sending Maslama ibn Yaḥyā.(169)

Mar`ash lies well to the northeast of al-Maṣṣīṣa and Adhana, and is sometimes considered one of the *thughūr al-Jazīra*.(170) It had been destroyed by Constantine V in 129/746.(171) The restoration of Mar`ash, again attributed to Ṣāliḥ ibn `Alī, also took place at about this time, although Balādhurī's brief notice does not give an exact date.(172)

2.6.5 Qālīqalā

This northern outpost of the Muslim empire, notorious for its harsh climate, had been taken and razed by the Byzantines (or by Kawshān) between 133 and 137 (above, 2.3). The restoration of Qālīqalā, like its destruction, presents problems of chronology.

> Al-Wāqidī said that in the year 139, al-Manṣūr ransomed the captives who survived from Qālīqalā. He rebuilt and repopulated Qālīqalā, returning to it the captives whom he had ransomed. He stationed there a garrison (*wa-nadaba ilayhi jundan*) of Jazīrans and others.(173)

From the Armenian historian Lewond, we learn that the restored city had a different population from the old one. Lewond says that Yazīd [ibn Usayd] built the town.

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thughūr for this period.

(169) Khalīfa, p. 647.

(170) Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 128; E. Honigmann, "Mar`ash," EI1, III, 268-269.

(171) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 189; Theophanes, p. 422.

(172) *Futūḥ*, p. 189. Theophanes (p. 443) also attributes the rebuilding of Mar`ash to Ṣāliḥ.

(173) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 199. Ṭabarī, III, 125 confirms the *fidā'* for 139. This date should be preferred to that of 137, apparently put forth at Agapius, p. 537. Cf. Caetani, *Cronografia generale*, p. 186.

> [Yazīd ibn Usayd] prepared the troops which were under his command, reached the city of Karin [Qālīqalā] and imposed poll tax throughout the country. He also assembled the innumerable multitude and assigned foremen for the construction work of the ruptured walls of the city, and he himself took care of it. He later allowed the Arabs to migrate to the city and live there with their families for the purpose of protecting the city from the enemies. [Yazīd] also made arrangements for food to be distributed to them from our land of Armenia.(174)

Previously the town had had an (at least largely) Armenian population,(175) but it now became the seat of an occupying garrison, mainly preoccupied with gathering taxes.(176)

Lewond thus ascribes the building of Qālīqalā to the governor of Armenia, Yazīd ibn Usayd. However, Yazīd did not become governor of Armenia until 140/758 at the earliest.(177) As elsewhere (below, 3.4), Lewond is not precise about these dates. However, Yazīd ibn Usayd may have been governor of al-Jazīra before being replaced there in 142 by al-`Abbās ibn Muḥammad.(178)

There is good reason to believe that in 139, the year in which Qālīqalā was resettled, Yazīd was governor not of Armenia, but of al-Jazīra. Balādhurī, in the passage quoted at the beginning of this section, does not mention Yazīd, saying only that al-Manṣūr ordered the reconstruction of the city, but does say that it was settled by "Jazīrans and others."

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(174) *History of Lewond*, tr. Arzoumanian, p. 124. Chahnazarian (p. 126) translated: "L'Arménie fut chargée de leur fournir des approvisionnements."

(175) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 199, and above, 2.3.

(176) J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam depuis la conquête arabe jusqu'en 886*, pp. 176-177.

(177) Ṭabarī, III, 99; Vasmer, *Chronologie*, p. 8. Coins of Armenia from these years do not name the governors.

(178) Ṭabarī, III, 374-375; Vasmer, *Chronologie*, p. 9. The years 140-142 are a gray area for both al-Jazīra and Armīniya. Vasmer writes: "Wann *Yazīds* Ernennung stattgefunden hat, ist ungewiss, im Jahre 137, nach al-Wāqidī sogar im Jahre 138, war noch *Ḥumaid ibn Qaḥtaba* Statthalter (Ṭabarī III, 120-121)."

At more or less the same time, the *thughūr al-Jazīra* to the south were also being rebuilt, largely through the agency of the governor of Syria, Ṣāliḥ ibn `Alī. Here we find Qālīqalā associated with the province and the governor of al-Jazīra.

2.6.5.1 Awzā`ī's letters on Qālīqalā

There is extant a series of letters by al-Awzā`ī, sent to the Caliph and to various high officials on behalf of various individuals and groups.(179) Four of these letters,(180) which seek ransom money for the Muslim population of Qālīqalā, give lurid descriptions of the sufferings of that population, particularly the young girls, and must be dated between 133 or 137 and 139.

2.7 Resumption of the Ṣawā'if

Al-Mansūr and his commanders thus built or rebuilt several important fortress towns in the *thughūr*. They also lost no time in launching expeditions against the Byzantines from these bases. They were thus able to stabilize, if not reverse, a military situation which had been largely unfavorable to the Muslims for several years.

Unfortunately, the sources present many differences and contradictions concerning these expeditions. Most notably, al-Ya`qūbī presents a substantially different version of events from that of Ṭabarī and Balādhurī. The latter two, and other writers dependent on them, or using their sources, present a picture which again may be roughly described as "synoptic."

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(179) Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Taqdima*, pp. 187-202.

(180) *Ibid.*, pp. 195-202. These letters are said to be addressed to 1) `Abdallāh ibn Muhammad amīr al-mu'minīn, 2) Sulaymān ibn Mujālad, 3) `Īsā ibn `Alī, and 4) Abū Balj. See below, 5.5.1.

The expeditions of 139 and 140 have already been discussed in the section on the rebuilding of Malaṭya (above, 2.6.3). In the expedition of 140 (if it is distinct from that of 139, which seems likely), Ṣāliḥ took no part.(181) This expedition approached a large Byzantine force encamped on the Jayḥān. Upon hearing of their arrival, Constantine retreated (*aḥjama*). A Muslim force was sent to Malaṭya in the following year (141) to hold it against a Byzantine army operating in the area. Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Imām was in this force.(182) This is during the time when, according to Balādhurī, Muḥammad's brother ʿAbd al-Wahhāb had been made *wālī al-Jazīra wa-thughūrihā*. It is interesting to see Muḥammad, himself a prince with a possible claim to the succession, sent here as a *murābiṭ* two years after Ṣāliḥ had gone to war with his two sisters (and their pious vows).

According to Ṭabarī, no *ṣā'ifa* took place betwen 140 and 146, since al-Manṣūr was preoccupied with Ḥasanid rebellions.(183) In Yaʿqūbī, however, expeditions are listed for 138, and then for every year from 142 until 149, except for 144. Most important, al-Yaʿqūbī describes all of these expeditions as coming under the control of Ṣāliḥ ibn ʿAlī.(184)

Most of the commanders whom al-Yaʿqūbī describes as leading these expeditions were prominent figures: al-ʿAbbās ibn Muḥammad (142, 143),(185) Ḥumayd ibn Qaḥṭaba (145), Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm (146), al-Sīnī ibn ʿAbdallāh

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(181) Ṭabarī, III, 125.

(182) Ṭabarī, III, 135, *wa-rābaṭa Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm bi-Malaṭya*. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 188.

(183) Ṭabarī, III, 125.

(184) Yaʿqūbī, II, 470. *Wa-aqāma Ṣāliḥ ibn ʿAlī wāliyan ʿalā 'l-Sha'm wa-'l-thughūr wa-huwa yughzī bilād al-Rūm umarā' min qibalihi ʿalayhim ibnuhu al-Faḍl ibn Ṣāliḥ....*

(185) Confirmed by Theophanes, p. 431.

ibn Ḥārith (147), al-Faḍl ibn Ṣāliḥ (148), Yazīd ibn Usayd (149). These may all have been minor expeditions. Nonetheless, it is difficult to see why this activity should be reported only by al-Ya`qūbī, unless we take Ṣāliḥ's role as the key. Perhaps Ṣāliḥ was operating independently; but it seems more likely that the mainstream historical tradition has downplayed his role.

Khalīfa ibn Khayyāṭ presents yet another version of these expeditions, one which, while different from that of al-Ya`qūbī, also tends to confirm the continuing importance of Ṣāliḥ ibn `Alī in the 140's. Thus, for 144 Khalīfa has Ṣāliḥ direct Maslama ibn Yaḥyā to build Adhana.(186) In 145, Khalīfa has Ṣāliḥ appoint `Īsā ibn Kathīr ibn al-Naqqāsh (it is not clear to what, *fīhā wallā Ṣāliḥ ibn `Alī `Īsā ibn Kathīr al-Naqqāsh fa-ghazā Salūqiya....*). `Īsā then raided as far as Seleucia, Tyana and Qarma.(187) It is strange that so ambitious a raid should not be recorded elsewhere. `Īsā ibn Kathīr is otherwise unknown.

For 148, Ṭabarī reports activities on Ṣāliḥ's part again:

> In that year, it is said, Ṣāliḥ ibn `Alī mustered his forces (`*askara*) in Dābiq, but did not campaign (*wa-lam yaghzu*).(188)

2.7.1 Expedition of 149

In 149, al-Manṣūr himself went to al-Jazīra. From there he directed a large expedition, about which many details have come down from many sources. According to the principal Muslim sources,(189) this was a major expedition which achieved triumphant results. As will be seen, other sources tend to

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(186) Khalīfa, p. 647, and above, 2.6.4.

(187) See below, 5.1. Qarma (Ḥarma, Kharma) is the Greek Koron, in Cappadocia.

(188) Ṭabarī, III, 353.

(189) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 184; Ṭabarī, III, 353; Azdī, p. 211. Cf. Salem, "War and Peace," p. 44.

belie this success; but it appears in any case that this was the largest expedition of its decade.

> In 149 al-Manṣūr traveled from Baghdad until he stopped at Ḥadīthat al-Mawṣil. He then sent al-Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭaba on an expedition, and after him Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath. He set al-'Abbās ibn Muḥammad over them, with orders to attack Kamkh together with them. Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath died in Amid. Al-'Abbās and al-Ḥasan went on until they arrived at Malaṭya, where they assembled provisions. They then stopped at Kamkh. Al-'Abbās ordered that catapults should be set up against the fortress. [The defenders] put cypress wood (*al-'ar'ar*) over the fortress, to prevent the stones launched by the catapults from damaging it. They hurled stones at the Muslims, killing 200 of them. The Muslims then took their *dabbābāt*, and fought fiercely until they conquered the town. Accompanying al-'Abbās ibn Muḥammad on that expedition was Maṭar al-Warrāq.(190)

Al-Manṣūr set his brother al-'Abbās, then governor of al-Jazīra, in command over al-Ḥasan, then no longer governor of Armenia.(191) These officers commanded separate armies.(192)

Dionysius of Tell Maḥrē gives a long account of this campaign, which agrees in many respects with that of Balādhurī. Here, however, the Muslim forces besiege Kamkh until the onset of winter, and are forced to lift the siege because they themselves are suffering from famine. In the meantime, "Radad" and "Mālik ibn Ṭūf" lead a large force (of 40,000!) inland, beyond Caesarea. These raiders are surrounded, with all their prisoners and booty, and nearly annihilated. Radad escapes with a remnant to Malaṭya, Ibn Ṭūf to Qālīqalā with 5000 men.(193)

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(190) *Futūḥ*, p. 184.

(191) Vasmer, *Chronologie*, pp. 8-10.

(192) Dionysius, pp. 71f.

(193) Dionysius, pp. 80-82. Cf. Theophanes, p. 444; Lilie, *Die Reaktion*, p. 170.

Dionysius has probably exaggerated the magnitude of the Muslims' defeat. However, Khalīfa confirms the assertion that the Muslims failed to take Kamkh.

> Abū Ja`far sent al-Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭaba, who went to Kamkh from the land of al-Jazīra. However, they held fast, and [al-Ḥasan] returned without having accomplished anything.(194)

2.7.2 Expeditions of 150-158

This was the last large expedition of the reign of al-Manṣūr. The following years saw some building activity, in Shimshāṭ and Mar`ash.(195) For the year 150, Tabarī tells us that the *ṣā'ifa* was entrusted to "Usayd."(196) This is probably an error for Yazīd ibn Usayd, who then may also have been governor of Armenia.(197) This notice would then correspond to Ya`qūbī's statement that Yazīd ibn Usayd led the *ṣā'ifa* in 149. Yazīd did not enter enemy territory, but stayed in his camp at Marj Dābiq.(198)

For 151, Ṭabarī reports a *ṣā'ifa* led by `Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Ibrāhīm.(199)

For 152, Ṭabarī lists three alternative commanders for the raid: Ḥumayd ibn Qaḥṭaba (who became governor of Khurāsān in that same year); alternatively, `Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Ibrāhīm (again), who did not actually perform it

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(194) Khalīfa, p. 656.

(195) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 189. Cf. Theophanes, p. 444 Salem, "War and Peace," p. 44. Note that Ṣāliḥ ibn `Alī is associated with this building activity, which occurred in 150 and 151 (Sāliḥ died in 152). This is further proof against the Syrian and Jazīran division of the *thughūr* at this time, since Shimshāṭ belonged to the *thughūr al-Jazīra*, by all accounts, while we find Mar`ash assigned to both.

(196) Ṭabarī, III, 359.

(197) Vasmer, *Chronologie*, pp. 9, 27. It is also possible that Sulaymān was then governor.

(198) Ṭabarī, III, 359.

(199) Ṭabarī, III, 367.

(*wa-lam yudrib*) or (*wa-qīla*) Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm.(200)

For 153, we have a more ambitious expedition.

> In that year, Ma`yūf ibn Yaḥyā al-Ḥajūrī led the *ṣā'ifa*. He went up by night to a Byzantine fortress (*ḥisn min ḥuṣūn al-Rūm*) while its inhabitants were asleep. He then took prisoner all the soldiers in the town. He then went to al-Lādhiqiyya al-muḥtaraqa, bringing out of it the heads of 6000 prisoners, aside from the men who had reached majority.(201)

Ma`yūf, like Zufar ibn `Asim al-Hilālī, was a Syrian who afterwards played a major role in several expeditions on land,(202) and one at sea.(203) This expedition of 153 marks the appearance of the Syrians as leaders of expeditions. It should be noticed that this new advance from Syria began in the year after the death of Ṣāliḥ ibn `Alī.

This pattern continued in the following year [154], when the Syrian Zufar ibn `Āṣim al-Hilālī led a raid which reached the Euphrates.(204)

155 was the year in which al-Manṣūr dismissed his brother al-`Abbās from the governorship of al-Jazīra and put Mūsā ibn Kalb in his place (see following section). It was also the year in which al-Manṣūr founded al-Rāfiqa, presumably with an eye to improved communications with the frontier

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(200) Ṭabarī, III, 367.

(201) Ṭabarī, III, 371. Khalīfa, p. 602, and Azdī, p. 216 give the same account, identifying Ma`yūf as "Ibn Yaḥyā al-Kindī." Laodicea Combusta (Katakekaumene), not to be confused with the Laodicea of the Syrian coast, lay some 40 kilometers north of Iconium. Cf. Muqaddasī (BGA III), p. 153; Ramsey, *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, pp. 42f. and index; Lilie, *Die Reaktion*, p. 170.

(202) Ṭabarī, III, 385, 568.

(203) Ṭabarī, III, 711.

(204) Ṭabarī, III, 373. Khalīfa's account (p. 663) is more complete, with Zufar going out through al-Maṣṣīṣa and returning through the *darb Mar`ash*, after sending his raiders through the area (*wa-baththa 'l-rāyā fa-ghanima wa-kharaja*).

(205) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 179; Michael the Syrian, II, 526; Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, pp. 89-90; Salem, "War and Peace," p. 44.

area.(205) Raids also continued throughout these years. All sources agree in assigning the expedition of 155 to Yazīd ibn Usayd.(206)

All this activity apparently had some effect on the Byzantines, since in the following year they asked for a truce, according to Ṭabarī, consenting to pay *jizya*.(207)

For the year 156, the Arabic sources agree that the *ṣā'ifa* was again led by Zufar ibn ʿĀṣim.(208)

For the year 157, the principal sources agree again that Yazīd ibn Usayd led the expedition.

> Yazīd ibn Usayd led the *ṣā'ifa* in that year. He sent Sinān, *mawlā al-Baṭṭāl* to one of the fortresses, and he took prisoners and booty. Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar said that the one who led the *ṣā'ifa* in that year was Zufar ibn ʿĀṣim.(209)

For 158, the final year of al-Manṣūr's reign, we have only the notice of Khalīfa that Maʿyūf ibn Yaḥyā led the expedition in that year.(210)

2.8 *Conclusion*

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(206) Ṭabarī, III, 374; Yaʿqūbī, II, 470; Khalīfa, p. 664, where Yazīd leads the expedition against *Dādhiqsha bi-nāḥiyat al-Khazar*.

(207) Ṭabarī, III, 374.

(208) Ṭabarī, III, 378; Khalīfa, p. 665; Azdī, p. 225. See below, 5.1.

(209) Ṭabarī, III, 380. Yaʿqūbī (II, 470) agrees with the latter tradition (concerning Zufar). Khalīfa (p. 666) has Yazīd ibn Usayd. Azdī (p. 226) has "Yazīd ibn ʿUmar al-Sulamī." Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 4.

(210) Khalīfa, p. 668.

2.8.1 Al-Manṣūr and his Commanders

> I have sworn an oath of allegiance, and I shall not cease from it until I know that the one to whom I swore it has died or been killed (*fī ʿunuqī bayʿatun fa-anā lā adaʿuhā ḥattā aʿlama anna ṣāḥibahā qad māta aw qutila*).(211)

These words of Isḥāq ibn Muslim at Sumaysāṭ are echoed in most of the sources. Abū Jaʿfar had to go to great lengths to prove to Isḥāq that Marwān had indeed been killed. Isḥāq had been Marwān's deputy in the great frontier province of Armīniya; and loyalty to Marwān survived longest in this frontier outpost.

Abū Jaʿfar evidently recognized the value of such loyalty,(212) for he made Isḥāq one of his closest companions and advisors. Other former "companions of Marwān" who had commanded armies in the Umayyad North had long careers under Abū Jaʿfar's rule, both during the latter's governorship of these northwestern provinces and during his own caliphate. Yazīd ibn Usayd is the outstanding example of these.

Having been governor of al-Jazīra, Armenia and Azerbaijan under Abū 'l-ʿAbbās, and having faced a serious challenge (that of ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAlī) from the northwestern area early in his own caliphate, al-Manṣūr was anxious that no prince or warlord should ever create a power base for himself out of the considerable military resources massed along the frontiers and their hinterlands. He developed a network of men outstanding for their loyalty to him (as well, of course, for their military prowess), including Khurāsānīs (al-Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭaba, Ḥumayd ibn Qaḥṭaba, Mālik ibn Haytham, Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl), only one Jaziran, who had formerly served under Marwān (Yazīd ibn Usayd), and, of course, his own uncles, brothers and cousins. He rotated these men

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(211) Ṭabarī, III, 58.

(212) See Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VI, 158-160, 167-168, for "literary" variations on this theme.

through the governorships of the provinces al-Jazīra and Armīniya, and most of all, the *ṣawā'if*.

For these yearly raids, 'Abbāsid princes and (usually Khurāsānī) warlords alternated in such fashion that none ever led the expedition more than twice in succession (and as a rule, not even that).(213) On larger expeditions, such as that of 149, several of these commanders might be sent with separate forces.

Beginning in 153, Syrian generals (Ma'yūf ibn Yaḥyā and Zufar ibn 'Āṣim) begin to enter the picture. But it is probably no accident that this incorporation of the Syrians into the regular *ṣawā'if*, coinciding with the extension of the Byzantine war front southward to the Mediterranean coast, occurred in the year following the death of Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Alī. For Ṣāliḥ was not part of al-Manṣūr's rotation scheme; rather, that scheme existed in large part as a counterbalance to the threat which Ṣāliḥ, and Syria in general, posed to al-Manṣūr.

Al-Manṣūr's rotation policy stands in contrast with that of the later Umayyads.(214) His commanders usually (though not always) went on expedition when they were otherwise out of office.(215) Al-'Abbās ibn Muḥammad was the notable exception to this pattern, since he remained as governor of al-Jazīra

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(213) This pattern holds true if we include the *ṣawā'if* of the 140's which are reported only by al-Ya'qūbī. See above, 2.7.

(214) E.g., Mu'āwiya ibn Hishām conducted the raids every year from 114 to 118; his brother Sulaymān conducted them in 120 and 121. Ṭabarī, II, 1563, 1564, 1573, 1588.

(215) Al-Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭaba and Yazīd ibn Usayd conducted their expeditions at times other than their respective governorships of Armenia, except perhaps for the expedition of 140, when al-Ḥasan may still have been governor; but Vasmer remarks (*Chronologie*, p. 10), "Daraus lassen sich aber keinerlei Schlüße inbetreff der Statthalterschaft von Armenien machen." Yazīd ibn Usayd in 150 may be another exception, see above, 2.7.2.

from 142 until 155, during which time he participated in as many as three expeditions.(216)

This system, whereby the potentially dangerous provinces of the northwestern frontier were controlled by men of whose loyalty al-Manṣūr could be sure, and whose different backgrounds (and loyalties) counterbalanced one another, was in reality quite precarious, because of the jealousy which inevitably arose among these competing warlords.

In 155, al-Manṣūr became angry at his brother al-ʿAbbās, fined him and imprisoned him. No reason is stated for this. However, Ṭabarī tells us of a quarrel between al-ʿAbbās and Yazīd ibn Usayd, stemming from Yazīd's dismissal from the governorship of al-Jazīra.

> When Yazīd ibn Usayd had been dismissed from al-Jazīra by al-ʿAbbās, he complained to Abū Jaʿfar, saying, "Commander of the Faithful, your brother has dismissed me wrongfully and insulted my honor (*asāʾa ʿazlī wa-shatama ʿirḍī*). Al-Manṣūr said to him, "Let the kindness which I have shown you balance my brother's bad treatment of you." Yazīd ibn Usayd then said, "Commander of the Faithful, if your [al-Manṣūr's] kindness toward us were by way of compensation for your [the ʿAbbāsid family's] bad treatment of us, then our obedience to you would constitute merely a favor to you on our part" (*idhā kāna iḥsānuka jazāʾan bi-isāʾatikum kānat ṭāʿatunā tafaḍḍulan minnā ʿalaykum*).(217)

Al-ʿAbbās had replaced Yazīd as governor of al-Jazīra in 142, 13 lunar years before the events reported here.(218) Why should Yazīd's anger have smouldered for so long, only to emerge at this time? And how could this result in al-ʿAbbās' dismissal (though not, in any case, in Yazīd's reinstatement)?

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(216) In 142 and 143, according to Yaʿqūbī, II, 470, which, as noted, conflicts with the main historical tradition; and in 149, see above, 2.7.

(217) Ṭabarī, III, 375.

(218) Ṭabarī, III, 99; Vasmer, *Chronologie*, p. 8; above, 2.6.5. However, in Khalīfa (p. 679), Humayd ibn Qahtaba precedes al-ʿAbbās as governor of al-Jazīra.

This is difficult to explain; perhaps the story of Yazīd complaining to al-Manṣūr (which has a thoroughly "literary" character, and the point of which is the elegant statement of a theme concerning loyalty) does not really belong here, but rather arose from events in 142 (or was embroidered on the basis of them), and then presented itself to the historians as the only available explanation for the otherwise inexplicable dismissal of al-`Abbās in 155. Another explanation might be that something did occur then, of which we know nothing, to bring these two powerful men to loggerheads. However, Yazīd in 155 was not in a position from which al-`Abbās could depose him.

In any case, the fall of al-`Abbās in 155 marks the breakdown of the system which al-Manṣūr had been employing in the northwestern provinces and the *thughūr*. The increasing role of the Syrians and the extension of the war southward are other indications of change.

2.8.2 Thughūr al-Shām, Thughūr al-Jazīra

To what extent did the administrative situation in these years correspond to the picture which we have from Balādhurī and the geographers? That is, were the *thughūr al-Shām* and the *thughūr al-Jazīra* distinct from one another, and attached to the provinces Syria and Jazīra? Supporting such an assertion are statements such as that of Balādhurī, that al-Manṣūr "settled in Malaṭya 4000 soldiers from al-Jazīra, because [Malaṭya] is one of its *thughūr*."(219) Here, however, the interpretation is Balādhurī's own; and we have already seen that his presentation of the frontier district adheres to the "classical picture" (above, 1.2). Stronger evidence is to be found in Dionysius, who tells of a call to arms sent out by `Abbās, the governor of al-Jazīra, to the Arab inhabitants of that province, some 600 of whom are sent to perform gar-

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(219) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 187; below, 4.1.

rison duty in the fortresses.(220)

However, the Arabic sources tend in a different direction. The most salient fact about them in this regard is their lack of harmony, especially with regard to the role played by Ṣāliḥ ibn ʿAlī. It is impossible to say if this confusion derives from the sources themselves, or from a particularly fluid admininistrative situation. We may note, in any case, that the sources reveal considerable tension around this issue. Most often the caliph gives the orders for buildings and expeditions; but the provincial governors probably held more power, in a longer succession of years, than most of the historians (with the notable exception of Yaʿqūbī) were prepared to admit.

From many indications in the sources, it also appears that the jurisdiction (for lack of a better word) of the two great governors did not apply neatly to the *thughūr* regions named after their respective provinces. Again, this applies especially in the case of Ṣāliḥ, whose activities extended as far to the northeast as Malaṭya and Shimshāṭ (above, 2.6.3, 2.7.2).

2.9 Appendix: Life in the Thughūr

The classical Arab geographers are of limited value for this early period. However, as if to compensate for this lack, we have the precise details (especially concerning buildings and land) of Balādhurī's *Futūḥ*. There are also other sources which afford us glimpses into life in this region in the earliest ʿAbbāsid period. Foremost of these is the Chronicle of Dionysius of Tell Maḥrē, the value of which as a document for the social history of al-Jazīra, especially for the last years of the reign of al-Manṣūr, has been shown by Claude Cahen.(221)

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(220) Dionysius, pp. 89-90; below, 4.6.2.

(221) "Fiscalité, propriété, antagonismes sociaux en Haute-Mésopotamie au

2.9.1 Al-Ṣa'ālīk

The end of Umayyad rule and the ensuing period of struggle led to a breakdown of authority (such as it was) in the plateau of al-Jazīra and the adjoining mountainous regions. Dionysius' picture is vivid:

> L'an 1062 [749-750], les Arabes de Maipherkat se répandèrent dans la région et commencèrent à faire beaucoup de mal aux habitants de la montagne et de toute la contrée. Qôre Ibn Thâbit monta dans le canton de Qoulab, s'empara de ses notables et en tua sept.(222)

The local Christians take to armed resistance, uniting around a man named John son of Dadai. So far has the anarchy spread that they form an alliance with their own local Arabs, against this local governor/bandit chief Qurra ibn Thābit.

> Les Arabes et les Chrétiens voulurent, d'un commun accord, faire descendre le gouverneur qui, depuis deux ans, était établi dans la forteresse de Qoulab. Ils refusèrent de lui obéir et se révoltèrent contre lui. Les Arabes voulaient le faire descendre de peur qu'il ne se joignît aux habitants de la montagne; les Syriens aussi demandaient son départ dans la crainte qu'il ne les trahît. Celui-ci, résistant aux deux partis, s'établit solidement dans la forteresse: il réunit des hommes pervers dont il devint le chef et descendit à la tête de sa troupe pour ravager les villages et emporter le butin dans la forteresse. Il tomba à l'improviste en Eloul et Paspasat, où il commit toutes sortes d'atrocités, lui et son armée. Il jeta les habitants dans les fers et s'empara de tout ce qu'ils possédaient.(223)

This Qurra ibn Thābit is not known to the Arabic sources. His activities as a robber baron, however, together with the band which forms around him, find many echoes throughout the history of the frontier region, on both sides. In Arabic, these adventurers and unfortunates are often called the *ṣa'ālīk*.(224) Who these *ṣa'ālīk* were exactly is difficult to say. We

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temps des premiers `Abbāsides d'après Denys de Tell-Maḥrē."

(222) Dionysius, p. 47.

(223) Dionysius, p. 47.

(224) A. Partusi, "Tra Storia e leggenda: Akritai e Ghâzi sulla frontiera

encounter a group of them at this same time, in Armenia during the revolt of the *ahl al-Bayleqān* against Muhammad ibn Ṣūl in 750:

> They gathered a crowd of *ṣa`ālīk* and others at Qil`at al-Kilāb. Muḥammad ibn Ṣūl sent Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṣubayḥ al-Kindī against them. He besieged them, and killed a great number of them.(225)

Strange to say, this same Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṣubayḥ appears in Dionysius(226) as a kind of independent warlord, very much like Qurra ibn Thābit. In 752-753, he holds Christian hostages at Mayyāfāriqīn, while the same John bar Dadai seeks (and is granted) help against him from Abū Ja`far at Ḥarrān. Chabot thought that this was the `Abbāsid Ṣāliḥ ibn `Alī, but Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṣubayḥ is well attested in the *Ansāb*,(227) where "Ṣāliḥ ibn Ṣubayḥ *mawlā* Kinda" is sent (with other officers) to al-Jazīra against Mulabbad the Khārijite.

We may (loosely) call Qurra and Sālih leaders of the *ṣa`ālīk*, representing the dark side of this world of loyalties binding sovereigns, commanders and soldiers. In an atmosphere of anarchy, they pass into the service of the `Abbāsid government, when it suits them, and then operate against the "authorities" from their strongholds in the hills.(228) They prey without interruption on the local Christian population, and even on the local Arabs. The identity and condition of the latter is a complex matter, which must be

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orientale di Bisanzio," *Actes du XIVe Congrès Internat. des Etudes Byzantines*, Vol. I (Bucharest 1974), pp. 237-330, especially pp. 248-250, "Chi erano i ghâzi ed i ṣa`âlîk," arguing (against Mélikoff, EI2 s.v. "Ghāzī") that the frontier area was in fact controlled tightly by both sides; H. Graham, "Digenis Akritas as a Source for Frontier History," *Actes du XIVe CIEB*, Vol. II (Bucharest 1975), pp. 321-330.

(225) Ya`qūbī, II, 429.

(226) Dionysius, p. 55.

(227) Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III, 248-249.

(228) Cf. Azdī, p. 279 (s.a. 177), where urban *ṣa`ālīk* in Mosul join a rebel who collects the *kharāj* and imprisons the tax officers (*ummāl*). See also Osman, *Ḥudūd*, I, 391.

taken up next.

2.9.2 Al-Khawārij

Who were these "Arabs of Mayyāfāriqīn" who "se répandèrent dans la région et commencèrent à faire beaucoup de mal aux habitants de la montagne?" They are not, in any case, synonymous with the *ṣa'ālīk* led by Qurra, whom Dionysius portrays as their enemies (above, 2.9.1). But what was their relation to the Jazīran Arabs who fought in the garrisons and the expeditionary armies of the *thughūr*? The scholars who have noted this passage of Dionysius have not explained it.(229)

The plateau of the Jazīra is potentially fertile, especially in the zone at the foot of the Taurus, where it receives fairly ample rainfall. However, because al-Jazīra lies open to the desert, its agricultural life has always been precarious.(230) In modern times, the Jazīra was largely abandoned to the Beduins, until a reconquest of the land for agriculture began under the French Mandate.(231)

Arabs had been present in the Jazīra in large numbers before the Islamic conquests, and in the period of Arab dominance many tribesmen had poured into the province. The passage from Dionysius about the Arabs of Mayyāfāriqīn proves the existence of some kind of balance between the Christians, in large part mountain folk, and the Arabs who, as usual, live in the plain. The balance is disturbed here, but apparently not fatally, as happened two centuries later, when the Banū Ḥabīb devastated this very same area.(232)

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(229) Ter Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates*, p. 27; J. M. Fiey, "Martyropolis syriaque," *Le Muséon*, LVIX (1976), p. 11.

(230) X. de Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques de l'histoire de l'Islam*, pp. 74-75, 77-78.

(231) *Ibid.*, pp. 112-114.

Some Christian peasants had Arab landlords.(233) These Arabs presumably paid *'ushr* on this land to the treasury. Certainly not all the Arabs of al-Jazīra were landowners. But the large Jazīran armies which fought in the wars of this period received military pay, no matter what side they were on. The Arabs' primary occupation was arms, and not the nomadic life as such. Naturally, there must have been a large number of Beduin present. But if nomads had predominated, then the peasantry would not have survived as long as it did: whereas Dionysius speaks of periods of great prosperity for the Syrian peasants. The tax collector, not the Beduin, was their greatest enemy.

In the beginning of this period (in 133), we find the fortress of Kamkh commanded by a "man of the Banū Sulaym."(234) This tribe predominated in Diyār Bakr, and had settled in Armenia along the frontier northwards to Qālīqalā.(235) The Banū Sulaym supplied many leaders in the history of the northwest frontier provinces of the late Umayyads and early 'Abbāsids (such as Yazīd ibn Usayd and Yūsuf ibn Rāshid), and, no doubt, much of the rank and file of the armies. Although we do not know much about these armies, we may say that these men fought in organized formations, and were skilled in siege warfare both offensive and defensive. Indeed, to the degree to which they were successful, the Banū Sulaym and other tribes living in the interior of Anatolia had abandoned the Beduin way of life and of combat. For it is well known that traditional Arab nomadism, based on the dromedary, cannot function

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(232) Ibn Ḥawqal, pp. 212-213; Fiey, "Martyropolis syriaque," p. 13.

(233) Dionysius, p. 82; Cahen, *art. cit.*, p. 151; below, 4.6.2.

(234) Balādhurī, *Futūh*, p. 186.

(235) Ter-Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates*, p. 30.

in the harsh winters and high, mountainous terrain of Anatolia.(236) The Turkish nomads, with their Bactrian camels (and skill in crossbreeding), and their love of high ground, were to accomplish the nomadization of these regions in later centuries.(237)

How the Arab armies did as well as they did in Armenia and the northern frontier region remains something of a mystery. But many of the Arabs of al-Jazīra found a more congenial activity in khārijism, a creed which in effect turned its back on the Byzantine frontier with its alien landscape.

L. Veccia Vaglieri counted 16 major Khārijite revolts in Diyār Bakr and Diyār Rabī`a for the period of the independent `Abbāsid caliphate.(238) She omitted, however, the revolt of Mulabbad ibn Ḥarmala al-Shaybānī, which began in 137. Ṭabarī's account gives an interesting list of Mulabbad's enemies.

> In that year, Mulabbad ibn Ḥarmala al-Shaybānī revolted as a Khārijite (*kharaja...fa-ḥakkama*) in the region of al-Jazīra. The *rawābiṭ al-Jazīra* who, it is said, then numbered a thousand fighters, set out against him. Mulabbad fought them and defeated them, and killed a number of them. Then the *rawābiṭ al-Mawṣil* set out against him, and he defeated them. Then Yazīd ibn Ḥātim al-Muhallabī set out against him and he defeated him also, etc.(239)

The verb *rābaṭa* and its cognates can denote, in this period, garrison duty on the frontiers performed by regular soldiers who receive `*aṭā'*.

> When al-Manṣūr became caliph, he appointed Yazīd ibn Usayd al-Sulamī governor of Armenia. [Yazīd] conquered the Bāb al-Lān and stationed regular troops (receiving pensions) there. (*wa-rattaba fīhi rawābiṭ min ahl al-dīwān*).(240)

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(236) De Planhol, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

(237) De Planhol, *op. cit.*, p. 22; Cl. Cahen, "Le problème ethnique en Anatolie," *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale* II (1954), pp. 347-362; S. Vryonis, "Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXIX (1975), pp. 41-71.

(238) "Le vicende del harigismo," p. 39.

(239) Ṭabarī, III, 120.

The word *rābaṭa* occurs fairly frequently in this period referring specifically to the Byzantine frontier.(241) However, as the above passage from Ṭabarī (concerning Mulabbad) shows, the *rawābiṭ* of al-Jazīra and Mosul (then separate provinces) are engaged in the struggle against the *Khawārij*. The term *rawābiṭ al-Mawṣil* in particular recurs constantly, as in the case of a commander of the garrison: *wa-kāna murābiṭan bi'l-Mawsil fī alfayn*.(242)

These *Khawārij*, whatever their degree of nomadization, were themselves Jazīran Arabs. The *rawābiṭ* who fought them may have been Khurāsānī in their majority; but the essential thing about them is that they were organized and settled. The garrisons of the *thughūr* seem to have been largely Jazīran in this period. The rivalry between Khurāsānīs and Jazīrans within the expeditionary armies and garrisons of this period may thus have counted for less than did the more basic division of armed men into *rawābiṭ* and *Khawārij*.

The gulf between these two kinds of fighters is apparent in the case of an alliance between them, that of Isḥāq ibn Muslim, in command of a Syro-Jazīran army, and Bukayra the Ḥarūrī (above, 2.2). Bukayra fought and lost to Abū Ja`far, while the "regular" forces sat in their fortified positions. Dionysius seems unaware of any connection between the two, noting only that Bukayra "embraced the sect of the Ḥārūrites."(243)

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(240) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 209-210.

(241) E.g., Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 188, *wa-rābaṭa Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm bi-Malaṭya*. Ibn al-`Adīm, *Zubda*, p. 46.

(242) Azdī, pp. 177, 217.

(243) Dionysius, p. 40.

Chapter III

HARUN

3.1 Introduction

The thughūr are blocked by Hārūn, and through him
the ropes of the Muslim state are firmly plaited.

His banner is forever tied with [divine] victory;
he has an army before which armies scatter.

Every king of the Rūm gives him jizya,
unwillingly, perforce, out of hand in humiliation.

Wa-suddat bi-Hārūna 'l-thughūru fa-uḥkimat
bihī min umūri 'l-muslimīna 'l-marā'iru

wa-mā 'nfakka ma`qūdan bi-naṣrin liwā'uhu
lahū `askarun `anhū tushaẓẓā 'l-`asākiru

wa-kullu mulūki 'l-Rūmi a`ṭāhu jizyatan
`alā 'l-raghmi qasran `an yadin wahwa ṣāghiru(244)

For the reigns of al-Mahdī, al-Hādī, and al-Rashīd, it is the last-named of these three who predominates in the history of the *thughūr*. Hārūn remained involved with the jihād and the *thughūr*, from his adolescence until the end of his life. Partly as a result of this predilection of his, this period differs significantly from the one preceding.

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(244) Ṭabarī, III, 741. Panegyric by Marwān ibn Abī Ḥafṣa, declaimed in the year 181. The first verse might be translated, less literally, as "The thughūr are blocked (defended) by Hārūn, and through him the resolve of the Muslim state is strengthened." Underlying this metaphor is Qur'ān 3:108, *wa'`taṣimū bi-ḥabli 'llāh*, and the notion, familiar from panegyric, of the Caliph as God's rope to mankind. See Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, pp. 39-40.

We have seen that al-Manṣūr had little personal inclination for jihād, and governed the *thughūr* region from a distance. He maintained control by rotating the great princes and warlords through the *ṣawā'if* and the governorships of the adjoining provinces. We have found the complexity of this balancing act reflected in the sources, which have proved difficult to harmonize. But in this following period, the matter is simpler: Hārūn (following the example of his father Muḥammad al-Mahdī) made frequent trips to the *thughūr*, and seems to have maintained an interest in the area even when absent. A result of this stronger caliphal presence is a decrease in confusion in our sources over who was in charge of what and when (see following section).(245)

However, this "age of Hārūn" in the *thughūr* has its own complexities. During this period there took place the administrative changes which, according to the Muslim geographers and historians, resulted in the organization of the frontier area into *al-ʿawāṣim wa'l-thughūr*. How and why this happened is far from clear. Furthermore, residence in or near the *thughūr* and involvement in the jihād seem to have had an almost sacral meaning for this ruler, whom we only imagine to be a familiar figure.

3.1.1 Sources

The historical sources for this period are somewhat poorer than for the preceding. The two sources which lent most color to the picture of the reign of al-Manṣūr, Balādhurī's *Ansāb* and the pseudo-Dionysius, both peter out here, as does the *Kitāb al-ʿunwān* of Agapius of Manbij. We find some compensation in the anonymous *Kitāb al-ʿuyūn wa'l-ḥadā'iq*. Other sources remain much the

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(245) The chronology of the reigns of al-Mahdī and al-Hādī (including the Byzantine wars) has been discussed in detail by Moscati. Canard has dealt with the wars of the latter part of the reign of al-Rashīd. This chapter will therefore focus (to a greater extent than was possible in the preceding chapter) on the *thughūr* as a province, how it was governed and by whom.

same as before.

While disagreement remains among the Arabic sources, it is at once milder than for the preceding period (see previous section), and seemingly less patterned. Thus, while Ya`qūbī still differs from Ṭabarī, there does not seem to be any political difference motivating these historians or their sources. The chorus of approval for Hārūn, however little deserved, seems to have begun quite early to drown out dissenting voices.

There is, of course, an enormous amount of more "literary" historical material on this period, much of it devoted to the Barmakids. But this is of little use to the administrative history of the *thughūr*. An old numismatic problem turns out to be of direct relevance (below, 3.4).

3.2 The Reigns of al-Mahdī and al-Hādī

Since Moscati has provided critical descriptions of these reigns, there is no need for a chronology.(246) Only a few points will be made here.(247)

Al-Mahdī took a stronger personal interest in the jihād than his father had done. News of the defeat of the expedition of 161 provoked his anger;(248) and when he learned of the Byzantine successes of 164, he gave

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(246) Most relevant is Moscati, "Studi," pp. 309-318, 325-329. Moscati integrated all relevant sources; the only major Arabic source lacking to him was Khalīfa. This is not a serious lack, since (unlike the preceding period) the reign of Hārūn imposed a sort of peace among its chroniclers. Khalīfa's statements will be brought up in what follows. See also E.W. Brooks, "Byzantines and Arabs in the Time of the Early Abbasids," *English Historical Review* XV (1900), pp. 734-740; XVI (1901), pp. 84-92; M. Canard, "Les expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans la légende," pp. 102-104; H. Kennedy, *The Early Abbasid Caliphate*, pp. 96-114; Lilie, *Die Reaktion*, pp. 166-167; Salem, "War and Peace," pp. 66-80; Bonner, "Al-Khalīfa al-Marḍī."

(247) See also below, 3.3, 3.4.

(248) Moscati, "Studi," p. 311.

orders to behead the Muslim commander `Abd al-Kabīr ibn `Abd al-Ḥamīd.(249) Furthermore, while al-Manṣūr in his time gave orders to found and rebuild fortress towns, and to keep their garrisons paid and equipped, al-Mahdī went further in this respect: not only did he visit some of the sites which he restored, but he even had one of them (al-Ḥadath) renamed after himself (al-Muḥammadiyya or al-Mahdiyya).(250)

But most important is the fact that al-Mahdī put his son Hārūn in charge of the great expeditions of 163 and 165. The caliph accompanied these expeditions on their way (in 163 going as far as the river Jayḥān),(251) and received them with pomp when they returned to Baghdad. Members of the `Abbāsid family had led expeditions before, but never on such a scale.(252)

Hārūn's rise in the 160's began with these expeditions: it was upon Hārūn's return to Baghdad in 163 that al-Mahdī appointed him governor of "Armenia, Azerbaijan, and the Maghrib," while to celebrate Hārūn's victory of 165, al-Mahdī granted him the title "al-Rashīd" and named him successor to his brother Mūsā al-Hādī.(253) Accordingly, in the *thughūr* in 165 we find Hārūn giving orders (on the site) for repairing al-Maṣṣīṣa, its mosque, and a nearby bridge.(254)

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(249) Ṭabarī, III, 501; Moscati, "Studi," p. 315. After intercession had been made, al-Mahdī was content with imprisoning him.

(250) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 190; Moscati, "Studi," pp. 312-313; below, 3.4.

(251) Ṭabarī, III, 499.

(252) See above, 2.6-7. The revolt of `Abdallāh ibn `Alī (above, 2.5) might be considered an exception. Al-Mahdī himself did not conduct jihād as heir apparent: Moscati, "Studi," p. 327, n. 1 refers to his activities in Khurāsān (Ṭabarī, III, 133-137).

(253) Bonner, "Al-Khalīfa al-Mardī."

(254) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 168; Moscati, "Studi," p. 317.

In contrast with the previous reign, we thus find in the reign of al-Mahdī a new energy in matters of jihād, personified by the young Hārūn. We may therefore take issue with Moscati's characterization of this period as one of decline in terms of military action.(255)

3.3 The Reorganization of 170

Ṭabarī tells us that in 170 Hārūn, in the first year of his reign, "took all the *thughūr* away from al-Jazīra and Qinnasrīn, and made them one district called *al-ʿawāṣim* (*wa-fīhā ʿazala al-Rashīd al-thughūr kullahā ʿan al-Jazīra wa-Qinnasrīn wa-jaʿalahā ḥayyizan wāḥidan wa-summiyat al-ʿawāṣim*).(256) This dry little notice requires some commentary.

In their discussions of this region, the Muslim geographers use the word *thughūr* to refer to frontier strongholds, and the word *ʿawāṣim* to refer to strongholds situated further to the rear.(257) If Ṭabarī is correct, then this division did not yet exist in 170.

The only other early Arabic sources which address the issue are Azdī and Balādhurī. Azdī in his *Ta'rīkh al-Mawṣil* has a version of this statement which conforms to what we may call the "orthodox" view of the matter: "The *thughūr* were separated from al-Jazīra and Qinnasrīn, while the area behind them was called *al-ʿawāṣim*."(258) However, this version makes little sense:

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(255) "Studi," p. 326.

(256) Ṭabarī, III, 604.

(257) Above, 1.2. Canard (*H'amdanides*, p. 226) sums this up: "Le jund ou territoire des ʿAwāsim dont les places principales sont...Manbij, Raibān, Qūrus, Dulūk, Tīzīn, Antioche, est ainsi nommé parce que ces villes servent d'appui aux place avancées, appelées thughūr, ou places frontières."

(258) Azdī, p. 262. *Wa-ufridat al-thughūr ʿan al-Jazīra wa-Qinnasrīn wa-summiya mā dūnahā al-ʿawāṣim.*

how could the *'awāṣim* be given the new name, if it was another area, the *thughūr*, which had been made separate? This version may be the product of a later attempt to resolve this inconsistency.

For Balādhurī, the phrase *al-mudun allatī sammāhā al-Rashīd 'awāṣim* ("the towns which al-Rashīd called *'awāṣim*")(259) refers to Antioch and its neighbors--that is, to al-'Awāṣim in the "orthodox" sense. For according to Balādhurī's understanding of the matter, the changes of 170 resulted immediately in the situation familiar to him and to the geographers.(260)

Ṭabarī is to preferred over Balādhurī in this instance, for the following reasons. Balādhurī was the most meticulous writer of his time in describing the frontier district according to the idealized, "classical" scheme (above, 1.2). He also tended generally to anachronism in technical matters, as will appear in his description of *ju'l* (below, 4.1). Ṭabarī, on the other hand, frequently gives what appear to be transcriptions of official pronouncements and state documents. We cannot know if this particular statement is such a transcription; but speaking for its authenticity is the fact that Ṭabarī here uses the terms *thughūr* and *'awāṣim* differently from the way later tradition understood them.

While a few later historians have transmitted this line from Ṭabarī,(261) Muslim geographical and historical tradition has mostly ignored the problem

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(259) *Futūḥ*, p. 163.

(260) *Ibid.*, p. 132. Upon succeeding to the caliphate Hārūn made Qinnasrīn separate from the new al-'Awāṣim. The latter included Manbij, Dulūk, Ra'bān, Qūrus, Anṭākya, and Tīzīn. He called them al-'Awāṣim because the Muslims defend themselves (*ya'taṣimūna*) in them when they return from their raids.

(261) E.g., Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VI, 75; Abū 'l-Fidā', *Al-Mukhtasar fī akhbār al-bashar*, II, 12.

it poses, with the possible exceptions of Yāqūt(262) and Qalqashandī.(263) Modern scholarship has followed suit.(264)

We may also ask what is meant by *ḥayyizan wāḥidan*. The word *ḥayyiz* means "a quarter, tract, region, or place...syn. *nāḥiya*" (Lane). Accordingly, the translation "he made them into one district" makes perfect sense. However, the word *ḥayyiz* does not belong to the `Abbāsid administrative vocabulary.(265)

3.3.1 Al-Jazīra and Qinnasrīn before 170

This change which occurred in 170 has been misunderstood by later tradition. To reconstruct what happened, we must first find out what state of affairs preceded the change.

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(262) At *Mu`jam al-buldān*, III, 741, Yāqūt considers the possibility that the *thughūr* of al-Maṣṣīṣa, Ṭarsūs, etc., may have been part of the *`awāṣim*. He can only conceive of one answer, true for all time.

(263) Qalqashandī (*Ṣubḥ al-a`shā*, IV, 131) cites this passage (with the variant *wa-sammāhā* for *wa-summiyat*) from `Imād al-Dīn (that is, Abū 'l-Fidā', see *Mukhtaṣar akhbār al-bashar*, II, 12--the change in phrasing seems to be Qalqashandī's), and goes on to say: "This indicates that [the phrase] *al-thughūr wa'l-`awāṣim* is a name for one thing" (*Qultu wa-muqtaḍā dhālika an takūna al-thughūr wa'l-`awāṣim isman `alā musamman wāḥid*). Like Yāqūt, Qalqashandī can only conceive of one correct answer.

(264) E.g., Canard, *H'amdanides*, pp. 226f.; *idem*, "Al-`Awāṣim," EI2, I, 760-762; Salem, "War and Peace," pp. 82-84.

(265) It appears once in an obscure Nubian toponym, Ya`qūbī, *Buldān* (BGA VII), p. 339. But the root *ḥwz* (hold, possess) also had its associations with the *thughūr*, as we see in this line from a poem of Abū 'l-Ma`ālī al-Kilābī, declaimed in celebration of Hārūn's capture of Heracleia in the year 190 (Ṭabarī, III, 710):

Wa-mā ḥāza 'l-thughūra siwāka khalqun
min al-mutakhallifīna `alā 'l-umūri

No one of those who have succeeded to the rule,
other than you, has ever held the thughūr.

It seems from this passage of Ṭabarī that responsibility for the *thughūr* prior to 170 was divided between the governors of al-Jazīra and Qinnasrīn. For the reign of al-Manṣūr, we have seen the title *walī al-Jazīra wa-thughūrihā* applied to `Abbāsid princes in the years 140-142 (above, 2.6.2). We have also seen Ṣāliḥ ibn `Alī (whom al-Manṣūr seems to have considered a threat) designated as *walī Qinnasrīn wa'l-thughūr* (above, 2.6.1). Otherwise, activity in the *thughūr*--building, restoring, and commanding fortress towns, and leading expeditions--was not the sole prerogative of the governors of these two provinces during the reign of al-Manṣūr. Moreover, even when these governors do become involved in the frontier area, the extent of territory controlled by each is not clear (above, 2.8.2).

Ibn al-`Adīm says that when al-Mahdī became caliph, Mūsā ibn Sulaymān al-Khurāsānī was governor of Qinnasrīn. When al-Mahdī visited Aleppo in 163, he appointed `Alī ibn Sulaymān [ibn `Abdallāh ibn al-`Abbās] governor of "Qinnasrīn, Aleppo, and al-Jazīra."(266) In older sources we find a more complicated situation, but Ṭabarī and Balādhurī finally confirm, and Khalīfa does not contradict, the statement that by 168 `Alī ibn Sulaymān was governor of both Qinnasrīn and al-Jazīra.(267)

These governors of al-Jazīra named by Ṭabarī and Khalīfa are notable for their absence from the *thughūr* and the Byzantine campaigns in the reign of

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(266) *Zubda*, pp. 60-61, *ḥarban wa-kharājan wa-ṣalātan*.

(267) Ṭabarī lists `Abbāsid princes (al-Faḍl ibn Ṣāliḥ, `Abd al-Ṣamad ibn `Alī, `Abdallāh ibn Ṣāliḥ) as governors of al-Jazīra for the years 159, 160, 162, 163; Zufar ibn `Āṣim is also listed for 163 (III, 470, 484, 494, 500). After a gap we find `Alī ibn Sulaymān *`alā 'l-Jazīra wa-Qinnasrīn* in 168 (III, 521). Khalīfa (*Ta'rīkh*, p. 697) names no governor of Qinnasrīn; he lists eight governors of al-Jazīra in the reign of al-Mahdī, including these same `Abbāsid princes. `Alī ibn Sulaymān appears twice. See also Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 190, and below. No coins are extant from Qinnasrīn or al-Jazīra in these years.

al-Mahdī.(268) Al-Mahdī, Hārūn, and the Barmakids controlled the area directly in this decade, assigning commands to men of their own choice.(269)

By the end of the caliphate of al-Mahdī, and during that of al-Hādī,(270) al-Jazīra and Qinnasrīn were joined under the rule of one governor, an `Abbāsid prince who did not take part in the Byzantine wars, at least until the end of his tenure in that office. Al-Mahdī, Hārūn, and the Barmakids seem to have been anxious to keep the prestige of the jihād, as well as the loyalty of the frontier armies, entirely for themselves.

In 168, `Alī ibn Sulaymān did find himself in command of a conglomeration of forces, meeting a military emergency. He failed, and was quickly sacked; this disruption of the normal order of things may have been a cause for the creation of the new district of al-`Awāṣim in 170. These events will be discussed in the following section.

3.4 *Hārūnābād and al-Hārūniyya*

It is here that a numismatic problem enters the picture, one which has remained largely unsolved ever since scholars became aware of it early in the nineteenth century, and one whose solution may cast new light on the problem of the formation of the *thughūr*.

This reorganization of the *thughūr* district does not, at first glance, appear to be reflected in the numismatic history of the region. However, the coinage of Hārūnābād and al-Hārūniyya, which begins in 168/785 and ends in

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(268) According to Ya`qūbī (II, 486), al-Faḍl ibn Ṣāliḥ led a raid in 167. The truce was still in effect in that year, but al-Faḍl was then out of office in any case.

(269) See "Al-Khalīfa al-Mardī." We have the name of a commander of al-Maṣṣīṣa in the reign of al-Mahdī, Sālim al-Barallusī (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 166), but he is otherwise unknown.

(270) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 190, and below.

171/788, presents several puzzles. Do these two names indicate a single mint? Does the mint name al-Hārūniyya correspond to the fortress town of that name, described by the Arab geographers as lying in the Syrian *thughūr?* If so, why is this series of coins clearly identified as belonging to the province of Armenia? And finally, what is the meaning of the title *al-khalīfa al-marḍī*, which appears on coins of al-Hārūniyya, and of no other place, upon the accession of Hārūn al-Rashīd to the caliphate?(271)

Numismatists have long been aware of these problems.(272) Since the 1840's, however, no one has attempted to consider all these problems together, and to place this unusual coinage in its historical context.(273) The Armenia/Hārūnābād/al-Hārūniyya puzzles must be solved as part of the series of shifts and changes which took place around 170.

Throughout the reign of al-Mahdi, coins of Armenia (Armīniya) were struck by the Muslim authorities of that province (see following chart) with no indication of the mint location (except for the copper *fulūs*, which often indicate the town as well as the province). However, it is generally assumed that the coins of the province Armīniya were struck at Dabīl (Dwīn), while

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(271) On this last question, see Bonner, "Al-Khalīfa al-Marḍī" (forthcoming).

(272) The most important discussions of this coinage are to be found in: Fraehn, *Recensio*, Nos. *115, *116, *123; Stickel, *Handbuch*, pp. 66-67, 80-84, 86-90; Tiesenhausen, *Monety vostochnavo Khalifata*, Nos. 1051, 1077, 1090, 1093, 1099, 1117, 1142, 1143 (Tiesenhausen incorporates writings of Fraehn which are otherwise inaccessible); Anderson, *Kochtel*, pp. 20-25, Vasmer's contribution; Vasmer, *Chronologie*, pp. 19f.; Zambaur, *Münzprägungen*, p. 263; Miles, *Rare Islamic Coins*, No. 233 (pp. 60-61); Artuk, *Denizbacı Definesi*, pp. 79-81, 89-90; the lists of Armenian coins in Mushegian, "Vypusk abbasidskikh monet;" and Nicol, "ʿAbbāsid Provincial Administration," pp. 97-101, 306-324.

(273) Vasmer, after setting forth his penetrating arguments concerning the Hārūnābād/al-Hārūniyya problem in *Kochtel*, pp. 20-25, then devoted only a few descriptive lines to the *al-khalīfa al-marḍī* coin mentioned in that same work, pp. 27-28. Stickel's comments of 1845 (*Handbuch*, pp. 86-90), remain the last attempt at a comprehensive view.

those of the sub-province Arrān (which was always under the rule of the Arab governor of Armenia) were struck at Bardha'a (Partaw).

Armenia, Arran and Azerbaijan in the Reign

of al-Mahdi, 158-169 (775-785)

Issue	Mint	Sovereign	Governor or Official(*)	Reference
1. AE 158	Bardha'a		al-Ḥasan	T. 2766
2. AE 159	Dabīl		Yazid b. Usayd	Mush. 30-33
3. AE 159	Bardha'a		Yazid b. Usayd	T. 887
4. AE 159	al-Bab		Yazid b. Usayd	Pakh. p. 73
5. AR 161	Arminiya	al-Mahdi		T. 910
6. AR 162	Arminiya	al-Mahdi		T. 925
7. AE 163	Bardha'a		Yazid b. Usayd	T. 2769
8. AR 165	Arminiya	al-Mahdi		Pakh. p. 76
9. AR 166	Arran	al-Mahdi		B. 783
10. AR 166	Arminiya	al-Mahdi		B. 787
11. AR 166	Adharbayjan	al-Mahdi	Nuṣayr*	T. 925
12. AR 167	Arminiya	al-Mahdi	Nuṣayr*	M. 269
13. AR 167	Arminiya	al-Mahdi	Ibn Khuraym	T. 1027
14. AR 167	Adharbayjan	al-Mahdi	Nuṣayr*	T. 1028
15. AR 168	Arran	al-Mahdi	Ibn Khuraym	T. 2774
16. AR 168	Arminiya	al-Mahdi	Ibn Khuraym	T. 1050
17. AR 168	Arminiya Harunabad	al-Mahdi Harun	Ḥasan*	T. 1051
18. AR 169	Adharbayjan	al-Mahdi	Nusayr*	T. 1063, 1064
19. AR 169	Arran	al-Mahdi	Rawḥ	T. 1065
20. AR 169	Arminiya Harunabad	al-Mahdi Harun	Ḥasan*	T. 1076
21. AR 169	Arminiya al-Haruniyya	al-Mahdi Harun	Khuzayma	P. 737

The mint of Hārūnābād leaps abruptly into history with Issue 1 (see Catalogue at end of this chapter). Three good nineteenth-century authorities attest to this rare coin, which appears from their descriptions to be identical to the far more abundant Issue 2 in all respects, except the date (168 instead of 169).

No place called Hārūnābād is mentioned in any medieval written source. The Persian ending of the name would argue for a location in Iran or (as some have thought) in Kurdistan.(274) However, the word *Armīniya* is clearly stamped on the reverse field. This double indication of the mint (Hārūnābād and Armīniya) is in itself something of a rarity.(275)

Several numismatists have identified the Ḥasan of Issues 1 and 2 as the famous al-Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭaba, who was governor of Armenia in the last years of the reign of al-Manṣūr (154-158).(276) However, this al-Ḥasan is never mentioned by any source, Arabic or Armenian, as governor around 168-169. Furthermore, the absence of the definite article in the name "Ḥasan" must be accounted for.(277)

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(274) E.g., Fraehn, *Recensio*, p. 6; Codrington, *Manual of Musalman Numismatics*, p. 195, where the author lists: "Harunabad. In Kurdistan, 34o 10'N; 46 45' E. Abbasid," with no indication of how he found these coordinates. Zambaur, *Münzprägungen*, p. 263, wrongly gives the impression that Yāqūt has a section on Hārūnābād.

(275) Stickel, ZDMG IX (1851), p. 251; Vasmer, *apud* Anderson, *Kochtel*, pp. 23-24.

(276) Fraehn, at *Recensio*, p. *7, noted simply "Praefecti Arm. nomen?" Tiesenhausen suggested (*Monety*, no. 1051) the identification with al-Hasan ibn Qahtaba. Artuk, *Cat.* I, 55, No. 203; *Denizbacı Definesi*, pp. 68-69 (no. 298); *V. Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Ankara, 1960), p. 216.

(277) As noted at Tiesenhausen, *Monety*, no. 1051 and Lane-Poole, *Khed.* No. 393 (p. 456). The coins struck in al-Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭaba's name from the years 154 until 158 are clearly marked *al*-Ḥasan.

A more probable connection can be made with a Ḥasan (again without the definite article) who appears on dirhams of Madīnat al-Salām issued in the beginning of the reign of Hārūn (170). Fraehn thought that this Baghdad Ḥasan was a mintmaster ("praefecti rei monetariae nomen esse").(278) Whatever Ḥasan's function was, we may easily imagine a bureaucrat in a place named after Hārūn taking a position in the central government when that prince assumes the supreme rule.

The mint name Hārūnābād stops in 169, and is apparently replaced in that same year by the name al-Hārūniyya (Issue 3). A glance at the Catalogue should nearly suffice to convince the reader that the one name merely replaces the other. The peculiarity of the double indication of the mint in Issues 1-3 makes this conclusion nearly unavoidable. Nonetheless, many numismatists have thought that these were two separate places.(279)

Issue 2a would provide a smooth transition from Hārūnābād to al-Hārūniyya, because it is purportedly a Hārūnābād coin with the name of the governor Khuzayma, which also appears on al-Hārūniyya coins (Issues 3-6). However, Issue 2a seems to be a bibliographical hybrid created by the great Tiesenhausen (see Catalogue), which subsequent scholarship (especially Soviet) has incorporated into the series of Armenian coinage for this period.(280) It must be ruled out as a link between the two mint-names.

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(278) Tiesenhausen, *Monety*, No. 1051, citing Fraehn, *Mus. quond. Sprewitz* and Ms. XI. Neither Tiesenhausen nor Fraehn connected this Ḥasan with the Hārūnābād Ḥasan of 168-169.

(279) Stickel, *Handbuch*, pp. 66-67; Codrington, *Manual*, p. 195; Vasmer, *apud* Anderson, *Kochtel*, pp. 24-25.

(280) E.g., Vasmer, *Chronologie*, p. 28, n. 28; Mushegian, No. 34 in list.

We must also rule out die-links as a means of proving that Hārūnābād and al-Hārūniyya were one and the same place. Different obverse and reverse dies were used for each of thse issues: note that the annulet patterns on the obverses change from Issues 2 to 3.(281)

Nonetheless, it is difficult to maintain that Hārūnābād and al-Hārūniyya were different places. As already stated, Issues 1-3 all bear the province name Armīniya. Of even greater importance is the fact that no mint other than Hārūnābād and al-Hārūniyya issued coins of Armenia from 169 until 172.(282) The available specimens of Issues 2 and 3 are also remarkably similar in epigraphical style. We must now tentatively assume that the names Hārūnābād and al-Hārūniyya do refer to one place, and proceed to ask where al-Hārūniyya was located. We cannot hope to find the location of Hārūnābād by any other means, since there is no record of it in any source, other than these coins.

A place called al-Hārūniyya was well known to the medieval Arab geographers. T. H. Weir summarized the geographical tradition concerning its history and location. Al-Hārūniyya is located in the Syrian *thughūr* between Mar`ash and `Ayn Zarba, to the east of the middle Jayḥān (Pyramos). "It owes its name to Hārūn al-Rashīd who founded it in 183/799 when he was organizing the defence of the frontier." In the fourth/tenth century it was taken by the Byzantines, then retaken and rebuilt by Sayf al-Dawla. Afterwards the Crusaders captured it, and it became annexed to Little Armenia.(283)

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(281) There are three die-linked coins of Issue 2 in the ANS collection, all from the Yaouriyya horde.

(282) Cf. Zambaur, *Münzprägungen*, p. 263. This continuity of the name Armīniya tends to discredit the arguments of Stickel, *Handbuch*, pp. 66-67.

(283) EI2, III, 234-235.

Cilicia at the end of the second/eighth century is, of course, never described as Little Armenia, and it is startling to find the silver mint (and therefore the administrative capital?) of Armenia situated so far to the south. This has led many numismatists to declare the Arab geographers irrelevant to the problem or simply wrong, and to place al-Hārūniyya far to the north and to the east of the Syrian *thughūr*.(284) In addition, the foundation date of 183 (found in Balādhurī, Hamadhānī and Yāqūt) is too late for our coinage.

This latter problem can be disposed of fairly easily. Balādhurī's *Futūḥ* gives an alternative tradition, without isnād:

> It is also said that [Hārūn] built [al-Hārūniyya] during the caliphate of al-Mahdī, and that it was completed afterwards during his own caliphate.(285)

This alternative tradition provides a plausible, though long, period in which to place the foundation of al-Hārūniyya (or Hārūnābād?).(286) It is well attested that Hārūn, then an adolescent, played an important part in the wars with Byzantium during the reign of his father al-Mahdī. He led campaigns in 163 and 165, both of which took place partly in the Syrian

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(284) This has more or less been the consensus in this century, ever since Vasmer declared al-Hārūniyya to be synonymous with Dabīl or some other Armenian locale, Anderson, *Kochtel*, pp. 24-25. E.g., Zambaur, *Münzprägungen*, p. 263; S. Album, "Price List No. 15," August 1979, No. 230. Scholars in the nineteenth century were more inclined to cede al-Hārūniyya to the Syrian *thughūr*, e.g., Fraehn, *Recensio*, p. 6; Stickel, *Handbuch*, p. 80; Tornberg, ZDMG XXII (1868), p. 287; Blau, NZ VI-VII (1874-1875), p. 19.

(285) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 171, *wa-yuqālu*, whereas the tradition which gives the foundation date of 183 is armed with the isnād of al-Wāqidī--Ibn Sa'd--al-Wāsiṭī. This same tradition is repeated in Hamadhānī, p. 113, on the authority of al-Wāqidī.

(286) Note the two dates (162 and 171) given for the founding of Ṭarsūs, Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 169.

(287) Ṭabarī, III, 497-498, 504-505.

thughūr.(287) His activities in this area are mentioned in some detail in Balādhurī's *Futūḥ*.(288)

The early `Abbāsids were fond of naming towns after themselves and their relatives. The mint name al-Muḥammadiyya first appears on coins of al-Rayy in 148, with al-Mahdī as heir apparent.(289) Al-Mahdiyya of North Africa begins to issue coins in 152.(290) It is also reported that al-Mahdī, after restoring al-Ḥadath in 162 or 163, intended to rename that town as al-Muḥammadiya or al-Mahdiyya.(291) The name al-Hārūniyya (though not, of course, Hārūnābād) would fit easily into this pattern. It is tempting to think that it was founded during Hārūn's campaigns in 163 or 165; but it might also be the case that it first arose late in al-Mahdī's reign, somehow marking an advance in Hārūn's position in his competition over the succession with his older brother Mūsā.

What happened in 168 which might have forced the mint of Armenia to move southward? We may detect two distinct sources of trouble in that year for the `Abbāsid authorities in that large, ill-defined province.

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(288) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 168, 192.

(289) Miles, *A Numismatic History of Rayy*, p. 31.

(290) Zambaur, *Münzprägungen*, p. 251: "Die arabischen Annalisten und Geographen behaupten, daß diese Stadt nach dem Fatimiden-khalifen `Ubaidallāh al-Mahdī bennant worden sei, der sie i.J. 303 mit Mauern versehen liess; doch die Münzen beweisen klar, daß sie nach dem Abbasiden al-Mahdī gennant wurde." There is, however, a gap in the coinage from 189 until 310.

(291) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 190; Ṭabarī, III, 499, under the year 163, where al-Mahdī accompanies Hārūn to the frontier: *wa-shayya`a al-Mahdī ibnahu Hārūn ḥattā qaṭa`a al-darb wa-balagha Jayḥān wa-'rtāda al-madīna allatī tusammā al-Mahdiyya wa-wadda`a Hārūn `alā nahr Jayḥān*. This account is not incompatible with Balādhurī, *Futūh*, p. 190 (*pace* Moscati, "Studi," p. 313), because the date which Balādhurī first cites (161) does not apply to all of the long series of events which he describes at that point, ending with the death of al-Mahdī (in 169).

First of all, the Arabic sources tell us that in Ramaḍān 168 (March 17 - April 15, 785), the Byzantines violated the truce, which at that point had been in effect for three years. Caught unawares, the Arabs responded in that year with a small expedition (*sariyya*).(292) Fighting continued into 169 (that is, into the summer, the usual campaigning season); Ṭabarī tells us little about it, but clearly states that al-Ḥadath was taken by the enemy.(293)

The Muslim year has three months after Ramaḍān. Accordingly, there were three months in 168 in which a new mint might have begun to operate in the Syrian *thughūr*, presumably in order to supply the needs of this new concentration of soldiers. The fact that Issue 1 is scarce, whereas Issue 2 is relatively plentiful (the two being identical except for the date) would indicate that the new mint did not open until the very end of 168, and then continued its production into the following year.(294)

In Balādhurī we find a fuller picture of the events surrounding the Byzantine attacks of 168-169 in the Syro-Jazīran *thughūr*. The frontier fortress town of al-Ḥadath (a day's march from al-Hārūniyya) was restored and fortified by ʿAlī ibn Sulaymān, who directed operations against the Byzantines in 168. Al-Mahdī died when work on al-Ḥadath had neared completion.

> [Al-Mahdī's] son Mūsā al-Hādī succeeded to the caliphate. Mūsā dismissed ʿAlī ibn Sulaymān, and appointed Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī governor of al-Jazīra and Qinnasrīn. ʿAlī ibn Sulaymān had completed the construction of the town of al-

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(292) ʿAlī ibn Sulaymān was then then governor of al-Jazīra and Qinnasrīn. Ṭabarī, III, 521; Yaʿqūbī, II, 486; Moscati, "Studi," p. 318. He sent Yazīd ibn Badr ibn al-Baṭṭāl on this expedition.

(293) Ṭabarī, III, 568; Moscati, "Le califat," pp. 14-15; Salem, "War and Peace," pp. 76f.

(294) If the mint did in fact move from Dabīl, then three months seems like a very short time. However, the staff of such a mint was not large, while its hardware was simple and easy to transport.

> Ḥadath, and Muḥammad assigned to it a levy of soldiers (*wa-faraḍa lahā Muḥammad farḍan*) from al-Shām, al-Jazīra and Khurāsān, granting them stipends (*al-ʿaṭā'*) of 40 dinars. He also granted them houses (*wa-aqṭaʿahum al-masākin*) and gave each man 300 dirhams. Al-Ḥadath was completed in 169.
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> Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb said that ʿAlī ibn Sulaymān assigned 4000 soldiers to al-Ḥadath, and settled them in the town. He transferred 2000 men there from Malaṭya, Shimshāṭ, Sumaysāṭ, Kaysūm, Dulūk and Raʿbān. Al-Wāqidī said that when the town of al-Ḥadath was built, the winter was severe, with heavy snowfall and rainfall. The town's buildings had not been constructed sturdily enough, and did not provide protection. The town therefore became filled with cracks, and fell apart. The Romans then descended upon the town, while the garrison and the other inhabitants scattered. News of this reached Mūsā, and he sent a contingent (*wa-qaṭaʿa baʿthan*) with al-Musayyib ibn Zuhayr, a contingent with Rawḥ ibn Ḥātim, and a contingent with Ḥamza ibn Mālik. However, he died before they were sent out. Thereupon al-Rashīd assumed the Caliphate, and gave orders that the city should be rebuilt, fortified and supplied, and that its troops should be granted dwelling places and tracts of land (*wa-iqṭāʿ muqātilatihā al-masākin*).(295)

The new army's financial requirements were thus quite considerable, and are described for us in some detail. It seems possible that the mint of Hārūnābād would have been set up in 168 to meet those requirements. The date of these events (168-169) fits the Hārūnābād coins perfectly.

Perhaps the most important piece of information which Balādhurī provides us here is the presence of Rawḥ ibn Ḥātim at al-Ḥadath with a contingent of soldiers. Rawḥ is known to have been governor of Armenia at this time, and is described as such both by Arabic and by Armenian sources. His name appears on coins of Arrān and Azerbaijan in this period (168-169).(296) Rawḥ

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(295) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 190-191. It has been stated that *farḍ* here refers to mercenaries. The word can mean "paid soldiers;" Balādhurī is perhaps referring to regular *murtaziqa*. See E. Kubbel', "O nekotorykh chertakh voennoi sistemy khalifata Omaiiadov," *Palestinskii Sbornik*, IV (1959), p. 120.

(296) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 210; Lewond, p. 144; Vasmer, *Chronologie*, p. 25. For the coins see the chart (above). Rawḥ could not have been in all these provinces at once; coins must have been minted in his name during his absence.

soon afterward became governor of Ifrīqiya, replacing his own brother who had died there. Rawḥ's own replacement in Armenia in 169 was Khuzayma ibn Khāzim, well known from our coins (see Catalogue) and from written sources. But Rawḥ's presence in the Syro-Jazīran *thughūr* at this critical time (168-169) makes the transfer of the Armenian mint to Cilicia seem more probable.

However, even though Rawḥ was present in the region of al-Ḥadath and (Cilician) al-Hārūniyya during these military operations, we are still told that ʿAlī ibn Sulaymān, the governor of al-Jazīra and Qinnasrīn, was in charge of operations in 168, as well as of the defense of al-Ḥadath (see above). How could such a governor strike coins in the name of a province not his own (that is, Armenia)? Furthermore, it might seem strange that a major provincial mint should be set up so near a marauding enemy. Richard Vasmer found these arguments overwhelming, and proceeded to locate al-Hārūniyya in the north, suggesting that it might be identical with Dabīl itself.(297)

However, Vasmer did not take into account the presence of Rawḥ ibn Ḥātim in the Syro-Jazīran frontier region during this time. And from this passage in Balādhurī, we might infer that ʿAlī fell into disgrace; and that Rawḥ may even have replaced him for a while, in some fashion.

Furthermore, ʿAlī did not hold a position superior to that of Rawḥ; and even if he had done so, he would still have been unable to strike coins in his own name and in the name of his own provinces. For the fact is that al-Jazīra and Qinnasrīn, the provinces under ʿAlī's control, produced no or next to no coinage during the early ʿAbbāsid years. Armenia, on the other hand, had been a productive mint for decades (though with some interruptions). The silver mines which al-Mahdī had opened in 162 must have added greatly to this

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(297) Anderson, *Kochtel*, p. 24.

productivity.(298)

We are therefore in a position to explain how coins of Armenia could have been struck in the *thughūr al-Shām* starting late in 168. Troops were brought from the entire Syro-Jazīran border region to man the new fortifications and to meet the military emergency. Al-Ḥadath fell, and ʿAlī ibn Sulaymān was dismissed as governor and commander. New troops were sent to the area, under new commanders, including Rawḥ ibn Ḥātim. Coinage was needed; and since Armenia then had an active mint, whereas al-Jazīra and Qinnasrīn had none, the Armenian mint took over these duties. The governor of Armenia, Rawḥ ibn Ḥātim, was present at this site of Hārūnābād, which for a short time may have become his "moveable capital." Rawḥ's name does not appear on the coins of Hārūnābād, but then neither does the name of any governor.(299)

The ʿAbbāsid authorities faced a second problem in the northwestern provinces in 168-169, this one in Armenia itself. The Armenian historian Lewond tells of a persecution occurring in 785 (A.H. 168-169). In that year al-Hādī sent a governor named Khazm (this is the Khuzayma ibn Khāzim of our coins) who proceeded to persecute the Armenian faithful, including three Armenian princes, one of whom apostatized, while the others were tortured and killed.(300) Our coins prove beyond any doubt that Khuzayma (Issues 3-6) began his governorship under al-Mahdī, and not al-Hādī. Lewond's chronology is all slightly wrong for these years.(301)

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(298) Lewond, p. 140; Pakhomov, *Monety Azerbaidzhana*, I, 75.

(299) As shown above, the Ḥasan of Issues 1 and 2 was almost certainly not a governor. Khuzayma's name does not appear until Issue 3.

(300) Lewond, pp. 144-145; Moscati, "Le califat," pp. 16-17.

(301) Stickel, *Handbuch*, pp. 81-82; Vasmer, *Chronologie*, p. 28, n. 28; Pakhomov, *Monety Azerbaidzhana*, II, 82-83. Moscati, "Califat," p. 16, is unaware of the coins and of Vasmer's *Chronologie*.

However, al-Ya`qūbī, our best Arabic source for Armenia in this period, confirms a picture of large-scale turbulence beginning in 168.

> And when al-Rashīd appointed Khuzayma ibn Khāzim al-Tamīmī over Armenia, [Khuzayma] stayed there for a year and two months, subduing the country, setting it in order, and reducing it to obedience.(302)

Like Lewond, Ya`qūbī appears to have his chronology wrong. The coins show that Khuzayma took office in the reign of al-Mahdī. However, it should be remembered that since 163 Hārūn had been (at least in name) governor or viceroy of "the Maghrib, Azerbaijan and Armenia."(303) Hārūn (or perhaps more likely, Yaḥyā ibn Khālid ibn Barmak) may possibly have chosen Khuzayma for this post during the caliphate of al-Mahdī.

Lewond describes Khuzayma as residing in Dwīn (Dabīl); and we have no indication from any source that Khuzayma governed from, or resided in, the area of (Cilician) al-Hārūniyya. However, Lewond was much more interested in gory details about this monster, whose name in Armenian (*Khazm*) means "war, battle"(304) than in matters of chronology and the precise whereabouts of governors. In any case, even if Khuzayma did reside in the north (at Dabīl or Bardha`a), these disturbances in Armenia coincided with the renewal of hostilities on the Byzantine frontier, precisely at the time of the Hārūnābād and al-Hārūniyya coinage. The combination of these two pressures may have forced the mint (if not the provincial government) to remain in the south for three years, once it had moved there.

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(302) Ya`qūbī, II, 515-516; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 453-454.

(303) Ṭabarī, III, 500. At Lewond, pp. 143-144, Hārūn makes decisions and gives orders (concerning the persecution of Armenians) by himself, and then together with his father al-Mahdī.

(304) Lewond, ed. Chahnazarian, p. 156 (translator's note).

We may then finally ask why these coins were first struck with the Persian name Hārūnābād. There seems to be only one available explanation. Balādhurī describes a great deal of activity in the *thughūr* during the reigns of al-Mahdī and al-Rashīd. Towns were restored, fortifications built, and garrisons brought in. Among the various kinds of troops brought in for this purpose, Khurāsānīs seem to have been the most important and the most numerous.(305) Indeed, the arrival of Khurāsānīs coming to take part in the jihād remained a constantly recurring event in the *thughūr*, right until the days of the Byzantine reconquest, when such an arrival was celebrated in the ringing words of Ibn Nubāta.(306)

As virtual foreigners, and with their special consciousness of being the mainstay of the 'Abbāsid dynasty, these Khurāsānīs may have used their own language in naming their new castles and citadels. Furthermore, the example of al-Muḥammadiyya/al-Rayy shows that the name on a coin might refer only to a part of a town.(307) Al-Hārūniyya may even have been the name by which the town was generally known from its founding.

We may conclude that the al-Hārūniyya of the coins was indeed the site known to the geographers. This does not mean that Ṭarsus, al-Ḥadath, al-Maṣṣīṣa, or even al-Hārūniyya itself were considered part of Armenia prior to 170. We have seen that the frontier-towns were under the command of the governor of al-Jazīra and Qinnasrīn in 168. But it does seem, however, that the

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(305) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 162, 166, 168, 169. Vicious, bloodthirsty Khurāsānīs appear at Lewond, p. 134; cf. Laurent, *L'Arménie*, p. 155, n. 6; Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, p. 324.

(306) Ibn Nubāta (Beirut), pp. 202-207; M. Canard, *Sayf al Daula. Receuil de textes relatifs à l'émir Sayf al Daula le Hamdânide* (Algiers 1934), pp. 167-173.

(307) Miles, *Numismatic History of Rayy*, p. 31. "In the strict sense al-Muḥammadiyya applied only to the inner city situated at the base of the citadel hill."

entire region, including the *thughūr al-Jazīra wa'l-Shām*, was then less differentiated, rather like the huge Byzantine theme of the *Armeniakōn* with which the early Muslim warriors found themselves face to face.

3.4.1 Armenia and the Thughūr

The Hārūniyya coinage must be examined in the context of Arab Armenia in the years immediately preceding 168. The chart (above) sketches the numismatic history of [Greater] Armenia in the decade immediately preceding the coinage of Hārūnābād and al-Hārūniyya.

Armenia, Arran, the Caucasus and Azerbaijan do seem to form some sort of administrative unity in this period.(308) However, we cannot even be sure that the dirhams with the mint name Armīniya were struck at Dabīl, or at any other particular place. It might even be the case that the Armenian mint was in operation at Hārūnābād (in Cilicia) before 168.(309) Nonetheless, the southward move of the mint of Armenia, and the reorganization of the Syro-Jazīran *thughūr* which came soon afterwards, together mark a shift in the entire northwestern region.

Under the Umayyads, the Arab dominion in Armenia, though of course unwelcome to the Armenians, nonetheless had something of the character of an alliance against the common enemy, the Khazars. Mu`āwiya's treaty with Theodore reflects something of this state of affairs, despite the fact that it was honored mostly in the breach. Marwān ibn Muḥammad owed much of his success in that part of the world to his skill in handling the Armenian magnates; so much so that when he himself was fighting the `Abbāsid armies in al-Jazīra,

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(308) Laurent, *L'Arménie*, pp. 9-34. Note that the (bureaucrat's) name Nuṣayr (formerly read as Bakkār, but see Pakhomov, *Monety Azerbaidzhana*, I, 78) appears on coins of both Armenia and Azerbaijan in 167.

(309) Though Rawḥ ibn Ḥātim's expedition, which gives us a reason why the government and the mint should have moved in 168, makes this unlikely.

Ashot Bagratuni brought him assistance, reportedly in the form of 15,000 horsemen.(310)

When the `Abbāsids came to power, this situation changed in several respects. Qālīqalā fell to the Byzantines in 750. When the Arabs retook it, they resettled it themselves (instead of with Armenians).(311) The Muslim authorities then cut off the stipends paid to the Armenian barons for their military service:(312) stipends which are described as having amounted to 100,000 gold pieces per annum under Hishām.(313) The revolt of 771, which resulted in a bloodbath of the Armenian nobility, had for the Arabs an unexpected, and ultimately unfavorable result: with so many of the barons knocked off the board, two great families were able to control much more of the country than they had had before.

All of this meant that the Arabs became a mere occupying power, concerned chiefly with gathering taxes.(314) Muslim soldiers (who included many Khurāsānīs) were cooped up in garrisons, which during the reign of al-Rashīd became increasingly restive and rebellious. Ya`qūbī(315) gives a list of

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(310) Lewond, pp. 113-116, 118. Cf. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, p. 317; Laurent, *L'Arménie*, p. 170.

(311) Lewond, p. 124; Laurent, *L'Arménie*, pp. 176-177; above, 2.6.5.

(312) Lewond, p. 123: "...for the flow of silver pouring yearly from the royal treasury for the benefit of the Armenian army was henceforth to be halted. Furthermore, the princes were ordered to furnish cavalry in specified numbers and were required to maintain their forces at their own expense...."

(313) Lewond, p. 114.

(314) The early `Abbāsid governors appeared to the Armenian historians as financial officers: see Laurent, *L'Arménie*, p. 163. In al-Jazīra, the local population had a similar view, C. Cahen, "Fiscalité, propriété, antagonismes sociaux en Haute-Mésopotamie au temps des premiers `Abbāsides."

(315) II, 515f. Cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 454-455.

these disturbances, which include a Khārijite revolt led by one Abū Muslim al-Shārī, as well as revolts by garrisons in Bardha`a and Derbend (al-Bāb). Indeed, it is possible that the disturbances which Khuzayma ibn Khāzim repressed so successfully in 169 were not started by the Armenian natives, who do not seem to have had much fight left in them at this point, but rather by Arab tribesmen moving north from al-Jazīra,(316) or even by Arab and Khurāsānī soldiers already stationed there.

It is in this context that the *thughūr al-Jazīra wa'l-Shām* finally emerge as a distinctive entity.

3.5 The Province of al-`Awāṣim in the Reign of Hārūn

The precise boundaries of this new unit are not clear, but they seem to have included the areas known later to the geographers as *al-thughūr* and *al-`awāṣim*. This section will investigate the question of how this area was governed and by whom.

3.5.1 170-177

There are few clues for the first three years of Hārūn's reign. One phrase in Yaiqūbī may supply a hint:

> [In] 171 [the campaign was led by] Yazīd ibn `Anbasa al-Ḥarashī, acting on behalf of (*`āmilan min qibal*) Isḥāq ibn Sulaymān.(317)

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(316) Tribal conflict became a principal feature of Arab Armenia in the reign of al-Rashīd. Ya`qūbī, *loc. cit.*, says that Yūsuf ibn Rāshid al-Sulamī (see Catalogue, Issue 9) brought a large number of Nizarī Arabs to Armenia, but that their influence was offset by an immigration of Rabī` under Yazīd ibn Mazyad. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 454f.; Laurent, *L'Arménie*, pp. 155-156; Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, pp. 337-338; Ter-Ghewondyan, *Arab Emirates*, pp. 29-33.

(317) Ya`qūbī, II, 522.

The `Abbāsid Isḥāq ibn Sulaymān ibn `Alī may thus have been Hārūn's first *walī al-`Awāṣim*. We find support for this hypothesis in Ṭabarī's report that Isḥāq led the expedition in 172.(318) However, it is difficult to reconcile this slender evidence with Balādhurī's account of the restoration of Ṭarsūs in 171.

> In the year 171, word reached al-Rashīd that the Rūm had arranged among themselves to attack Ṭarsūs, to fortify it, and to station a garrison there. He therefore sent Harthama ibn A`yan on the *ṣā'ifa* in 171, and ordered him to repopulate Ṭarsūs, to rebuild it and to fortify it. [Harthama] did this, and entrusted the command [over Ṭarsūs] to Faraj ibn Sulaym al-Khādim, on the orders of al-Rashīd.(319)

All other sources call this subgovernor of Ṭarsūs Abū Sulaym, not Ibn Sulaym. He is also known variously as *al-Turkī*, *al-khādim*, and *al-khaṣī* (both words indicating "the eunuch").(320) Balādhurī then goes on to describe how large contingents were brought to Ṭarsūs, and how the city was rebuilt. Faraj, a person of lowly status who took orders from Harthama, could not have been governor of al-`Awāṣim--but it also seems unlikely that Harthama held this office.(321)

It therefore appears that in the first two or three years of the caliphate of Hārūn there was no single governor of al-`Awāṣim.

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(318) Ṭabarī, III, 607.

(319) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 169. On the restoration of Ṭarsūs, see Salem, "War and Peace," pp. 81-82.

(320) Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, p. 170) also calls him Abū Sulaym. See Ṭabarī, III, 604 (dating this event to 170); Khalīfa, p. 711; Azdī, p. 262 (both dating it to 171). On this early use of the word *khādim* in the sense of "eunuch," see D. Ayalon, "On the Term *Khādim* in the Sense of 'Eunuch' in the Early Muslim Sources," *Arabica* XXXII (1985), p. 305.

(321) Harthama acts here on direct orders from the caliph. No source other than Balādhurī confirms Harthama for the *ṣā'ifa* in or around 172.

3.5.1.1 `Abd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ

For the year 173, we find a more likely candidate for this office.

> `Abd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ had appointed Yazīd ibn Makhlad al-Fazārī over Ṭarsūs. The Khurāsānīs who were installed there chased him away, being afraid of the Hubayriyya. [Yazīd] made Abū 'l-Fawāris his successor. `Abd al-Malik confirmed him. This took place in the year 173.(322)

Abū Sulaym Faraj al-Turkī has apparently left the scene between 171 and 173. But most important is the fact that here `Abd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ makes and confirms the local appointments, even if he has limited control over what goes on in Ṭarsūs. `Abd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ is therefore the first governor of al-`Awāṣim whom we can identify with any confidence.(323)

In 171 `Abd al-Malik was dismissed from the governorship of Mosul.(324) According to Balādhurī, he became governor of al-`Awāṣim in 173.(325) Syriac tradition describes him as active in the *thughūr* at this time.(326) We then find him behaving like a governor, that is, giving orders and delegating

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(322) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 170. At p. 132, `Abd al-Malik is described as governor of al-`Awāṣim in 173.

(323) This does not necessarily mean that `Abd al-Malik was the first to hold this position: see above on Isḥāq ibn Sulaymān. In 174 Isḥāq was appointed governor of Sind and Makrān, see Ṭabarī, III, 609. See the note on `Abd al-Malik in Canard, "La prise d'Héraclée," p. 373, n. 4.

(324) Azdī, p. 267.

(325) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 132, 170; above.

(326) Michael the Syrian, III, 8. "Quand Hâroun roi des Taiyayê, commença à regner, il envoya `A[b]d el-Malik rebâtir Hadeth."

(327) Khalīfa, p. 716. "`Abd al-Malik wrote to Makhlad ibn Yazīd ibn `Umar ibn Hurayra, ordering him to go to Dibsa, to meet there `Abd al-Raḥmān ibn `Abd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ. `Abd al-Raḥmān then went [to Dibsa], and conquered it."

(328) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 185. "Muḥammad ibn `Abdallāh ibn `Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī `Umra al-Anṣārī, who was then `Abd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ's *`āmil* over Shimshāṭ, went on a *ghazw*. He entered [Kamkh]...." See also

authority, in 176,(327) in 177,(328) and in 178.(329) Furthermore, while there is disagreement on the details, the early sources agree that `Abd al-Malik and his son `Abd al-Raḥmān led expeditions from 173 or 174 until 177. They also agree in characterizing the expedition of 175 as a major affair, involving the *ahl al-thughūr jamī`an*.(330)

It thus seems reasonable to assume that `Abd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ was governor of al-`Awāṣim from 173 at least until 177. Ibn al-`Adīm provides confirmation for this theory, but with a new twist.

> When the rule came to al-Rashīd, he appointed `Abd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn `Alī ibn `Abdallāh as governor of Qinnasrīn. [`Abd al-Malik] resided in Manbij, and built for himself a palace with an orchard next to it...his appointment as governor was in 175. Then [al-Rashīd] dismissed him because of some matter which had angered him against him.(331)

Ibn al-`Adīm does not mention al-`Awāṣim here at all; `Abd al-Malik is governor of Qinnasrīn. But then, Ibn al-`Adīm also does not report the creation of the new district of al-`Awāṣim in 170. From this local history of Aleppo (chief city of Jund Qinnasrīn by the early `Abbāsid period), we thus gain the impression that nothing changed in 170, that is, that Jund Qinnasrīn remained a frontier province.

We should not be surprised if this local historical tradition (of Qinnasrīn) retained only a fuzzy memory of the existence of an adjoining province, especially if that province included territory lopped off from its own

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Ya`qūbī, II, 522, where the raid for the year 177 is led by Dāwūd ibn al-Nu`mān "on the part of" (*min qibal*) `Abd al-Malik."

(329) Khalīfa, p. 718. "`Abd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ entrusted the command to al-Bakhtarī ibn Shurayk ibn al-`Alā' al-`Absī. He plundered without suffering loss. His booty amounted to 153,000 dinars."

(330) Ṭabarī, III, 610, 612, 628; Khalīfa, pp. 713, 714, 715, 717; Ya`qūbī, II, 522; Azdī, pp. 270, 274.

(331) Ibn al-`Adīm, *Zubda*, p. 62.

bailiwick. It does seem reasonable to assume, however, that this tradition would have preserved a fairly accurate version of the identities, dates, and sequence of its own governors.

We therefore cannot assume automatically that the men whom Ibn al-`Adīm lists as governors of Qinnasrīn during the reign of Hārūn were also governors of al-`Awāṣim. But if any of these same men are otherwise attested to have held the office of *wālī al-`Awāṣim*, then we have good evidence that the provinces of Qinnasrīn and al-`Awāṣim were joined administratively, for at least part of the reign of al-Rashīd. In the governorship of `Abd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ this appears to be the case.

In Ibn al-`Adīm's account, `Abd al-Malik moved his residence and capital (that is, the capital of Qinnasrīn) to Manbij. According to Balādhurī and the geographers, Manbij belonged to Jund Qinnasrīn before 170, at which time it became capital of al-`Awāṣim (understood in the later, "orthodox" sense).(332) Modern scholars seem to have accepted this version, and describe Manbij as the capital of al-`Awāṣim during the reign of Hārūn.(333)

We may conclude that in 173, the frontier province called al-`Awāsim was assigned to `Abd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ, who was also governor of Qinnasrīn. `Abd al-Malik then moved to Manbij, a town whose location permitted him to oversee both provinces.(334) It is impossible, however, to determine if Man-

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(332) See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, IV, 654. "Al-Rashīd was the first to make al-`Awāṣim separate (*awwal man afrada al-`Awāṣim*), and he made Manbij its [chief] city. `Abd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn `Alī ibn `Abdallāh ibn `Abbās went to live there." Here Yāqūt has no problem with the definition of *al-`awāṣim*, since Manbij belongs to the province of al-`Awāṣim in the later, "orthodox" definition.

(333) E.g., Canard, *H'amdanides*, pp. 233-234.

(334) Canard, *H'amdanides*, p. 233. Manbij enjoyed a location "proche de la région où se faisait la jonction des places frontières mésopotamiennes et syriennes, et voisine de l'Euphrate et d'Alep."

bij then belonged to the old province of Qinnasrīn or to the new one called al-'Awāṣim.

These events mark a partial return to the situation which prevailed before 170, when the frontier area was under the nominal control of the governor of Qinnasrīn and al-Jazīra.(335) If Hārūn intended in 170 to make the frontier district independent of the neighboring provinces, then his attempt had met with failure by 173. Furthermore, we have seen that it is not clear if between 170 and 173 the frontier district actually constituted such an independent province--if anything, the evidence points to a degree of chaos.

The length of 'Abd al-Malik's tenure in office presents different problems. According to Ibn al-'Adīm, 'Abd al-Malik remained governor of Qinnasrīn until the year 176, when Hārūn "removed him because of some matter which angered him against him."(336) However, the examples already cited to show that 'Abd al-Malik held gubernatorial authority in al-'Awāṣim cluster in the years 173-177. In each of those same years, we find 'Abd al-Malik or his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān leading expeditions (see above). It therefore seems more reasonable to date 'Abd al-Malik's dismissal to 177 than to 176.

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(335) These two governorships were united, as we have seen, in the reign of al-Mahdī. 'Abd al-Malik, by contrast, never held both offices: see the list of Hārūn's governors of al-Jazīra at Khalīfa, p. 747.

(336) *Zubda*, p. 62. Ibn al-'Adīm seems to be misplacing in 176 events which appear in Ṭabarī under the year 187, when "al-Rashīd became angry at 'Abd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ and imprisoned him" (III, 688f.). Ibn al-'Adīm repeats an anecdote associated in Ṭabarī with that dismissal.

3.5.2 177-184

Our sources do not give a clear picture of events in al-'Awāṣim and its neighboring provinces during these years. Ibn al-'Adīm offers a summary, again from the viewpoint of Jund Qinnasrīn.

> Al-Rashīd then appointed Mūsā ibn 'Īsā [over Qinnasrīn] in 176....The *fitna* was raging in al-Shām between the Nizāriyya and the Yamāniyya. Al-Rashīd then appointed Mūsā ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khālid in that year over all of al-Shām. He stayed there until he had made peace among them. Al-Rashīd then appointed Jaìfar ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khālid ibn Barmak in the year 178; he went there in the year 180, and appointed as deputy 'Īsā ibn al-'Akkī. Al-Rashīd then appointed Ismā'īl ibn Sālih ibn 'Alī when he removed him from Egypt in the year 182....Then al-Rashīd appointed ìAbd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ for the second time.(337)

Ṭabarī largely confirms this version of events in Syria.(338) However, the rest of this passage does not harmonize with the few indications which we have from other sources. Several questions arise, of direct relevance to the history of al-'Awāṣim. Did the frontier region continue to depend administratively on Jund Qinnasrīn? For how long was Jund Qinnasrīn subject, in its turn, to Damascus? And what was 'Abd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ doing all the while?

3.5.2.1 Al-'Awāṣim, Qinnasrīn and al-Shām

The *fitna* and the temporary unification of al-Shām under one governor need not have resulted immediately in the sacking of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ in Qinnasrīn and the 'Awāṣim: as we have seen, there is evidence that he remained in power there at least until 177. But in any case, the administrative link between Qinnasrīn and the 'Awāṣim does seem to have been broken upon 'Abd al-Malik's dismissal. For none of the men mentioned by Ibn

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(337) Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubda*, pp. 62-63.

(338) Ṭabarī, III, 624-625, 639-641. The *fitna* and the appointment of Mūsā ibn 'Īsā took place in 176. Mūsā was killed on the job, whereupon Hārūn replaced him with Mūsā ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khālid. Ja'far went to Syria in 180 to suppress another outbreak, and then returned to Baghdad, leaving 'Īsā ibn al-'Akkī as his deputy.

al-ʿAdīm as governors (of Syria, perhaps with control over Qinnasrīn) between the two governorships of ʿAbd al-Malik played any role whatsoever in the Byzantine wars or the frontier area during those years.

The more difficult question of the link between Damascus and Jund Qinnasrīn must next be taken up, for the following reason. ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ continued to play a major role in the *thughūr*, especially in the mid-180's. According to Kennedy, ʿAbd al-Malik was was not only, like his father Ṣāliḥ and his brother al-Faḍl, leader of a major "sub-dynasty,"(339) but also represented a Syrian regional interest.(340) He thus enjoyed a broad base of support in Syria; Kennedy seems to assume that ʿAbd al-Malik was governor of that province until his fall in 187. In the discussion which is to follow of the frontier province in these years, much will depend on whether we assign ʿAbd al-Malik a power base encompassing all of *bilād al-Shām* together with al-ʿAwāṣim, or a smaller one in northern Syria.

Between his governorships of Qinnasrīn, ʿAbd al-Malik does not seem to have fallen into disfavor, since he is reported as active in several places (too many, in fact).

According to Ṭabarī, Hārūn appointed ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ governor of Egypt in 178, to succeed Harthama ibn Aʿyan.(341) However, we may disregard this statement, since neither Kindī nor Khalīfa mention ʿAbd al-Malik as a governor of Egypt. Ṭabarī's version may have confused ʿAbd al-Malik with his brothers Ibrāhīm and Ismāʿīl, both of whom did serve as governors of Egypt under Hārūn.(342)

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(339) Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, pp. 74-75, 118.

(340) *Ibid.*, p. 125.

(341) Ṭabarī, III, 630.

(342) According to Kindī (ed. Guest), p. 137, Hārūn's brother ʿUbaydallāh ibn

Ya`qūbī says that when al-Walīd ibn Ṭarīf revolted (*kharaja*) in al-Jazīra in the year 179, `Abd al-Malik was then governor of that province, as well as of part of Syria (*ba`ḍ al-Shām*).(343) Ṭabarī in discussing these same events does not mention `Abd al-Malik or anyone else as governor of al-Jazīra during al-Walīd's revolt. Furthermore, Khalīfa does not list `Abd al-Malik among Hārūn's governors of al-Jazīra.(344) Ya`qūbī's version therefore seems doubtful; but it raises the possibility that `Abd al-Malik was still present in Qinnasrīn in 179. `Abd al-Malik led a *ṣā'ifa* in 181.(345)

`Abd al-Malik thus seems to have spent part, or even all of the years 178-184 in northern Syria, though it is not clear with what position. Was he also then governor of Syria itself, as Kennedy implies? Zambaur lists him as governor of Damascus from 177 to 180.(346) However, this attribution appears neither in the sources which Zambaur cites, nor in the sources used here. Kennedy's theory would in any case require `Abd al-Malik to be governor there after 180.

In 180 Ja`far the Barmakid came to Syria as governor. When he left for Baghdad, he made `Īsā ibn al-`Akkī his deputy in Damascus.(347) Barmakid rule in Syria, exercised through such deputies, would have remained much the same, even if others took the place of `Īsā. Our sources neglect the history of Damascus in these years; but Damascus dirhams of 185 and 186, bearing the

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al-Mahdī succeeded Harthama in Egypt in 178. Ibrāhīm was governor there in 175-176 (p. 135); Ismā`īl ibn Ṣāliḥ in 181-182 (p. 138). Khalīfa, p. 747, confirms all this, but omits Ismā`īl.

(343) Ya`qūbī, II, 495-496.

(344) Ṭabarī, III, 631, 638; Khalīfa, p. 747.

(345) Ṭabarī, III, 647.

(346) Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 27.

(347) Ṭabarī, III, 639, 641.

name *Ja'far*,(348) indicate that the Barmakids retained control over Syria until their downfall in 187.

We may conclude that: 1) Beginning in 176, Syria was shaken by the *fitna*, and subsequently found itself subjected to direct rule from Baghdad, administered by the Barmakids until 187. But if Jund Qinnasrīn was ever ruled as part of this united province, this rule probably did not last long. 2) The administrative link between al-'Awāṣim and Jund Qinnasrīn was broken. 3) 'Abd al-Malik never held power in Damascus. We cannot say precisely what position, if any, he did hold from 178 until 184. He may have retained his governorship of Qinnasrīn for some or even all of that time. His recorded activity in the wars for these years was limited to one expedition.(349)

3.5.2.2 Hārūn and al-'Awāṣim

In these years Hārūn himself managed affairs in the frontier district to a large extent. In 180 he selected al-Raqqa as his residence.(350) This choice may be partly explained by al-Raqqa's "proximity to the Byzantine frontier."(351) In that same year, Hārūn ordered the construction and fortification of 'Ayn Zarba.(352) In 181 he led the expedition which took the fortress of Ṣafṣāf, to the delight of punning poets.(353) The year usually given for the foundation of al-Hārūniyya, 183, may perhaps have been the date

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(348) ANS 72.79.660 (A.H. 185); Fraehn, *Recensio*, p. 28*, no. *212 (A.H. 186).

(349) The *ṣā'ifa* of 181. Ṭabarī, III, 646.

(350) Ṭabarī, III, 645.

(351) Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 120.

(352) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 170.

(353) Ṭabarī, III, 646; Azdī, p. 290. *Ṣafṣaf* means "barren, empty."

of a restoration.(354) The fortress of al-Kanīsa al-Sawdā' may also have been built in these years.(355) In short, Hārūn gave the orders, and if `Abd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ had any role to play, it was that of subordinate.

3.5.3 184-187

By 180, `Abd al-Malik had either been sacked or relegated to a subordinate position in al-`Awāṣim. He later received either a second governorship (if we follow Ibn al-`Adīm) or a renewal of his strength in the district. In either case, to when can we date this? In 181, the year of Hārūn's own expedition against Ṣafṣāf, `Abd al-Malik led an expedition which reached Ankara, and conquered *al-maṭmūra*.(356) In the following year, his son `Abd al-Raḥmān conducted a raid which went all the way to Ephesus.(357) This in itself does not mean that `Abd al-Malik was reinstated in or by 181; but he must at least have regained the caliph's favor (if he had ever lost it). In the *Kitāb al-'uyūn*, under the year 181, we find the title *wālī `alā 'l-thughūr* applied to one `Abd al-Razzāq (ibn `Abd al-Ḥamīd).(358) In 184, at any rate, we find a surer indication of `Abd al-Malik's governorship. Khalīfa says that in that year, `Abd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ sent (*wajjaha*) Aḥmad ibn Hārūn al-Shaybānī on a raid.(359) Michael the Syrian says that `Abd al-Malik was "chargé de faire la guerre aux Romains" when Nicephorus became

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(354) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 171; above, 3.4.

(355) *Ibid.*, p. 171.

(356) Ṭabarī, III, 647. *Al-maṭāmīr* ("the underground granaries") was a district in Cappadocia. See Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze*, p. 46, and Lilie, *Die Reaktion*, p. 151, n. 39.

(357) Ṭabarī, III, 647; Azdī, p. 293.

(358) *Kitāb al-`uyūn*, p. 301. *Thumma ghazā al-ṣā'ifa `Abd al-Razzāq wa-kāna wāliyan `alā 'l-thughūr wa-kāna ḥasan al-tadbīr shujā`an `azzan.*

(359) Khalīfa, p. 731. Read "`Abd al-Malik" for "`Abdallāh."

emperor.(360) This latter event occurred in A.H. 187; `Abd al-Malik would thus have kept his position in al-`Awāṣim until his downfall in 187 or 188.

However, according to Ṭabarī, Hārūn's son al-Qāsim received in 186 the *bay`a* (as third in succession), the regnal title *al-Mu'taman*, and the governorship of "al-Jazīra, al-Thughūr, and al-`Awāṣim."(361) While all agree that al-Qāsim was governor in the last part of Hārūn's reign, this date of 186 presents several problems.

Al-Qāsim was said to be `Abd al-Malik's protégé.(362) But if al-Qāsim replaced `Abd al-Malik in 186, this would have been a year before the latter's fall and imprisonment. How could this relationship have worked so much to the disadvantage of the patron? Kennedy offers an explanation: al-Qāsim was `Abd al-Malik's candidate for the succession, just as al-Ma'mūn was the candidate of the Barmakids. Hārūn's move against the Barmakids in 187 was quickly followed by a similar move against `Abd al-Malik; foremost among Hārūn's motives in all this was a desire to strengthen his son Muḥammad al-Amīn. Thus, in 186 al-Qāsim would have remained `Abd al-Malik's puppet, while holding authority in several northwestern provinces.(363)

Objections may be raised. Kennedy assumes here that `Abd al-Malik had a broader power base in Syria than seems to have been the case (above, 3.5.2.1). `Abd al-Malik might have exerted control over al-Qāsim even after that prince had replaced him in whatever governorship[s] he did hold; but

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(360) Michael the Syrian, III, 15.

(361) Ṭabarī, III, 652-653; cf. Azdī, p. 303.

(362) Ṭabarī, III, 652. This statement serves to explain three lines of verse in support of al-Qāsim. Khalīfa, p. 734, has al-Qāsim perform the *ṣā'ifa* with `Abd al-Malik in 187, and assigns the fall of `Abd al-Malik and the appointment of al-Qāsim to 188 (p. 735).

(363) Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, pp. 25, 29.

this seems unlikely. Unlike the Barmakids, `Abd al-Malik did not owe his position to skill in finance and administration.

Furthermore, all sources agree that when `Abd al-Malik fell from power in 187, Hārūn sacked him (*`azalahu*). For some reason they do not say from what; but all indications are that before going to prison he held the job of governor of Qinnasrīn and al-`Awāṣim.

Finally, Ṭabarī and Azdī are our only sources which state that al-Qāsim received the governorship of the frontier province in 186. Elsewhere Ṭabarī gives a different version, according to which Hārūn made al-Qāsim governor of al-`Awāṣim in 187.(364) This harmonizes with Michael the Syrian (above). Since Ṭabarī offers two dates for one event, we are free to reject one of them, namely the first (with the date of 186). Also supporting the authenticity of the second version is its use of the term *`awaṣim* (="frontier district"), whereas the first version uses an expression intelligible to later generations (*al-thughūr wa'l-`awāṣim*).

It therefore seems most likely that al-Qāsim received the *bay`a* and the regnal title in 186, while `Abd al-Malik remained governor of al-`Awāṣim and Qinnasrīn until his downfall in 187, at which time al-Qāsim replaced him. `Abd al-Malik does seem to have involved himself in succession politics (see following section). Nonetheless, Kennedy's understanding of his position must be modified.

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(364) Ṭabarī, III, 688; below, 3.5.5.1.

3.5.3.1 The Fall of ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ

Ṭabarī reports the fall and imprisonment of ʿAbd al-Malik for 187, the year in which the Barmakids fell, and in which al-Qāsim ibn Hārūn became governor of al-ʿAwāṣim.(365) ʿAbd al-Malik was denounced by his own son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān for plotting to make himself caliph; in spite of pleas made on ʿAbd al-Malik's behalf, and ʿAbd al-Malik's own denials, Hārūn refused to release him from prison. The story has a thoroughly "literary" character, like much of the historical material concerning the Barmakids. There is no reason why Ṭabarī's version should be preferred to that of Masʿūdī, which is similar in character, but which gives different details.(366)

It is difficult to say what relation the fall of ʿAbd al-Malik had to that of the Barmakids, which occurred in the same year.(367) But these accounts also neglect to inform us what position ʿAbd al-Malik held at the time of his fall (we only know from elsewhere that he was governor of Qinnasrīn and al-ʿAwāṣim). ʿAbd al-Malik may have been meddling in succession politics, and did, in any case, strike fear into Hārūn's heart.(368)

But most remarkable is the similarity of this fear on Hārūn's part to the fear which Hārūn's grandfather al-Manṣūr seems to have had of ʿAbd al-Malik's father Ṣāliḥ ibn ʿAlī.(369)

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(365) Ṭabarī, III, 688-694.

(366) Masʿūdī omits the accusation by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, but describes an attempt by Yaḥyā the Barmakid to entrap ʿAbd al-Malik. *Murūj* (ed. Barbier), VI, 302-305.

(367) At Ṭabarī, III, 693, Yaḥyā (in prison) denies any connection.

(368) At Ṭabarī, III, 692, Hārūn says: *balaghanī ʿanhu mā awḥashanī wa-lam āman an yaḍriba bayna ibnayya hādhayni.*

(369) See Yaʿqūbī's account of Ṣāliḥ's death, above, 2.6.2.

3.5.4 187-193

During the last years of Hārūn's reign, the Byzantine wars grew hotter, while the caliph devoted himself to the jihād perhaps more than at any time since his adolescence. These years present problems of chronology, which Canard has already discussed.(370)

3.5.4.1 Al-Qāsim

Al-Qāsim became governor immediately after ʿAbd al-Malik's fall. Khalīfa dates both events to 188, Ṭabarī to 187.(371) Ṭabarī's is the most interesting version.

> And in that year (187), al-Rashīd sent his son al-Qāsim on the *ṣā'ifa*. He dedicated him to God, made him a sacrifice and a means [of approaching God], and made him governor of al-ʿAwāṣim (*fa-wahabahu lillāh wa-jaʿalahu qurbānan wa-wasīlatan wa-wallāhu al-ʿAwāṣim*).

We may take this statement to be authentic--that is, as a quote from official pronouncements of the time--for two reasons. First, its use of the word *ʿawāṣim* matches that of this period, rather than that of later generations (including the geographers). Second, it is too strange for anyone to have thought of it afterwards.

Al-Qāsim's appointment seems to have taken place soon after or during Hārūn's famous exchange of letters with Nicephorus.(372) However, this does

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(370) "La prise d'Héraclée et les relations entre Hārūn ar-Rashīd et l'Empereur Nicéphore Ier." See also Lilie, *Die Reaktion*, pp. 177-178; Salem, "War and Peace," pp. 91-97.

(371) Khalīfa, p. 735; Ṭabarī, III, 688. Yaʿqūbī, II, 512, is aware of the expedition, which he assigns to 188, but mentions neither the governorship nor the dedication (see below).

(372) Ṭabarī, III, 695f. Canard, "La prise d'Héraclée," p. 375, says: "La lettre de Nicéphore semble être postérieure à la campagne de Qāsim...puisque Ṭabarī mentionne celle-ci avant." However, the order of events within one year in Ṭabarī does not constitute proof of their relative chronology. Furthermore, Canard himself says that the exchange of letters cannot be historical in its details ("La prise

not explain the extraordinary vocabulary used for this appointment.

It might be argued that Hārūn gave al-Qāsim the assignment of being a sacrifice so as to put him out of the way in the succession. However, the field of serious contenders had long since narrowed down to two. Moreover, Hārūn's experience during his own struggle over the succession with his brother Mūsā al-Hādī would have taught him the opposite, namely that the frontier district could be a source of strength in such a crisis.(373)

For now we may merely note that Hārūn used language of an almost sacral nature in appointing al-Qāsim over al-ʿAwāṣim.

Our principal sources agree on the outlines of al-Qāsim's campaign of 187 (or 188).(374) The raiders besieged Qurra and Sinān; their efforts were rewarded by the release of 320 Muslim prisoners. This low number suggests that the expedition was less than a success, though Yaʿqūbī is the only source to speak of its hardships. Several commanders are named beside al-Qāsim, who thus may have had only a ceremonial part to play.

In the following year, Ibrāhīm ibn Jibrīl led a major expedition through the Darb al-Ṣafṣāf, while al-Qāsim remained (*rābaṭa*) in Dābiq.(375) In the year after that (189 according to Ṭabarī), al-Qāsim again remained as a murābiṭ in Dābiq.(376) But we are also told that in the same year he accompanied al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn from Mecca to Rayy.(377)

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d'Héraclée," pp. 375f.). The report that al-Qāsim's raid took place in Shaʿbān 187 (=25 July-22 August 803) would tend to argue for placing it *after* the exchange, since Shaʿbān is the eighth month of the year.

(373) See "Al-Khalīfa al-Marḍī."

(374) Ṭabarī, III, 694; Yaʿqūbī, II, 512; Khalīfa, p. 735.

(375) Ṭabarī, III, 701.

(376) Ṭabarī, III, 707.

(377) Ṭabarī, III, 704.

Ṭabarī thus gives the impression that al-Qāsim's ribāṭ was an unimportant matter. In Balādhurī, however, al-Qāsim in Dābiq has more to do.

> `Azzūn ibn Said, one of the inhabitants of the frontier (*ba`ḍ ahl al-thaghr*) related to me that the Rūm captured [al-Kanīsa al-Sawdā'] while al-Qāsim ibn al-Rashīd was staying in Dābiq. They drove away the inhabitants' cattle, and took a number of people prisoner. Soldiers and volunteers from al-Maṣṣīṣa (*ahl al-Maṣṣīṣa wa-muṭṭawwi`atuhā*) set out toward them, and got back everything which [the Rūm] had taken. They killed a number of them, and the survivors returned in distress and defeat. [Al-Qāsim then sent men to fortify and restore the town, and increased its supplies.](378)

These events correspond to the Byzantine expedition of 190.(379) Balādhurī thus describes al-Qāsim as active in al-`Awāṣim a year later than does Ṭabarī.(380)

In that same year (190), Hārūn conducted an expedition himself, and sent out a number of other expeditions from his base at Manbij. And upon leaving al-Raqqa for Manbij, he had left his son al-Ma'mūn in charge.(381) This shows that al-Qāsim was then governor of al-`Awāṣim, and not of al-Jazīra.(382)

Al-Qāsim appears nowhere in the sources for 191. Instead we find Hārūn delegating authority in the frontier district to several men.(383)

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(378) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 171; cf. Canard, "La prise d'Héraclée," p. 373.

(379) Ṭabarī, III, 701-709; Canard, "La prise d'Héraclée," pp. 356, 373.

(380) Canard, "La prise d'Héraclée," p. 356, n. 2, notes the discord between Ṭabarī and Balādhurī.

(381) Ṭabarī, III, 708.

(382) This constitutes more proof against Ṭabarī, III, 652, making al-Qāsim governor of "al-Jazīra, the thughūr and the `Awāṣim" in 186, see above, 3.5.3.

(383) Ṭabarī, III, 712: Harthama ibn A`yan in charge of the *ṣā'ifa*, with 30,000 Khurāsānī regulars (*jund*), and Masrūr al-Khādim in charge of expenditures and everything else except *al-riyāsa*. `Abdallāh ibn Mālik was given the command of al-Ḥadath; Sa`īd ibn Silm [?] ibn Qutayba assigned to Mar'ash; Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ibn Mazyad to Ṭarsūs.

In the year 192, when al-Rashīd headed eastward from al-Raqqa, he left al-Qāsim as his deputy, under the tutelage of Khuzayma ibn Khāzim.(384) In that same year, Thābit ibn Naṣr ibn Mālik became governor of the thughūr, and led the Muslims both on an expedition and in a ransoming of prisoners.(385)

It thus appears most likely that al-Qāsim remained governor of the frontier district from 187 until 192, at which time he was transferred to al-Jazīra.(386) However, this matter is not entirely clear in the sources, as we see in the following:

> [Upon Hārūn's death] Muḥammad ibn Hārūn confirmed his brother al-Qāsim [in 193] in the governorship of al-Jazīra, which his father had assigned to him. He put Khuzayma ibn Khāzim in charge of it, and confirmed al-Qāsim over Qinnasrīn and al-ʿAwāṣim.(387)

This passage confirms Ibn al-ʿAdīm's statement that in 193 al-Rashīd appointed Khuzayma ibn Khāzim over Aleppo and Qinnasrīn, on behalf of (*min qibal*) al-Qāsim.(388) But it is still not clear if al-Qāsim remained governor of al-ʿAwāṣim from 187 right until Hārūn's death in 193. In any case, al-Amīn dismissed al-Qāsim from his governorship[s] in 194, and summoned him to Baghdad.(389)

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(384) Ṭabarī, III, 730. Khalīfa, p. 747, lists Khuzayma twice as governor of al-Jazīra during the reign of Hārūn, but does not list al-Qāsim.

(385) Ṭabarī, III, 730, 732.

(386) *Chronicle of 813*, p. 194: "Et [regnum suum] inter tres filios suos divisit....[Et Qāsim] super cunctas regiones Gezirthae et Occidentis in urbe Mabbug constituit."

(387) Ṭabarī, III, 775.

(388) *Zubda*, pp. 63-64. The question of who was governor during the years 187-193 in Qinnasrīn is so confused that Ibn al-ʿAdīm settles for *wa'llāhu aʿlam*.

(389) Ṭabarī, III, 776.

In sum, Al-Qāsim's career as *walī al-ʿAwāṣim* began with one (apparently unsuccessful) *ṣā'ifa*, which he may not even have commanded. He then stayed behind as a *murābiṭ* in Dābiq, while his father directed operations. He was then appointed (nominal) governor of al-Jazīra, while Thābit ibn Naṣr, a real soldier, commanded the *thughūr*.

During the years 187-193, the administration (such as it was) of the frontier district took on two aspects, in a clearer fashion than before. When Ṭabarī says that Thābit ibn Naṣr was made governor (*wulliya al-thughūr*), the phrase seems to mean "he was given command of the army, of the *ghazw*." Thus, while we know of the existence of a financial administrator in the *thughūr* at the end of Hārūn's reign,(390) we do not know if he was chosen by, or answerable to Thābit, who appears in the sources only as a general.

We might think of al-Qāsim's role as merely ceremonial. However, his attribute of *murābiṭ* may be the key to his activity. The reign of Hārūn saw development in the notion of *ribāṭ*, together with a growth in the number of scholars in the *thughūr* (below, Chapter V). Ḥadīth proclaimed the merit achieved from ribāṭ to be equivalent to that of (active) jihād, and associated ribāṭ with other religious acts of a non-military nature. Accordingly, while al-Qāsim does seem to have performed military tasks from his stronghold in Dābiq, his importance as a *qurbān wa-wasīla* may derive from this other aspect of ribāṭ, that is, religious merit not always, or even primarily associated with actual fighting.

Thābit and al-Qāsim may thus be said to embody two trends or aspects of the *thughūr*, which we might crudely characterize as the active and the contemplative. But neither of these has to do primarily with administration and

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(390) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 168, Abū Sulaym Faraj (see above, 3.5) in charge of the *aʿshār al-thughūr*.

government; just as al-`Awāṣim, though forming "one district" (*ḥayyiz wāḥid*), was not a province like other provinces.

3.5.4.2 The destruction of the churches

Tabarī reports that in 191 Hārūn "ordered the destruction of the churches of the *thughūr*."(391) We find confirmation of this statement where we should expect to find it, that is, in Syriac sources. However, problems of chronology arise once again.

Michael the Syrian and the anonymous *Chronicle of 1234* are usually cited:

> Quand Haroun, roi des Ṭaiyayê, commença à regner, il envoya `Abd el-Malik rebâtir Ḥadeth. Celui-ci rassembla deux mille chariots; les églises qui se trouvaient à l'occident du Sauga furent démolies, et avec leurs pierres on rebâtit le mur. La grande église de Kaisoum fut détruite avec les 15 temples qui se trouvaient là.(392)

This event is placed in the beginning, not the end of Hārūn's reign. According to Balādhurī, al-Ḥadath was built in the reign of al-Mahdī.(393) The event described here could have happened in the early 170's, but is confirmed nowhere else.

However, the anonymous Syriac chronicle shows that such a destruction of churches did take place in or around 191.

> Les Arabes de Harrān, d'Edesse et de Samosate s'assemblèrent et demandèrent à `Abd Allāh d'ordonner que les églises qui étaient nouvellement bâties depuis dix ans soient détruites et que les cloches cessent de sonner. Mais le bon prince `Abd Allāh leur répondit: "Les pauvres chrétiens n'ont même pas reconstruit un dixième des églises détruites et incendiées par eux."(394)

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(391) Ṭabarī, III, 713.

(392) Michael the Syrian, III, 8; *Chronicle of 1234*, II, 1 (tr. Abouna, = II, 3 of Syriac). Tritton, *The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects*, p. 48.

(393) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 169; above.

(394) *Chronicle of 1234*, II, 11 (tr. Abouna); Tritton, *Caliphs*, p. 49, citing CSCO III, 14-15 (correct to 16).

ʿAbdallāh ibn Ṭāhir became governor in al-Raqqa in 205, or 14 years after Hārūn is supposed to have destroyed the churches.(395) This might imply that the area affected, known (in 191) as the *thughūr*, extended back from the frontier area (Samosata) into al-Jazīra itself.(396)

Finally, and most convincingly, Michael the Syrian notes for the Seleucid year 1118 (which overlaps with A.H. 191) that Hārūn ordered the devastation of churches in Tagra, in the district of Antioch, and in Jerusalem.(397)

Why did Hārūn enact this measure? The usual explanation given is that "the Christians were thought to be acting as a fifth column for the enemy."(398) Evidence exists for this theory, in the following passage:

> En l'an 1108, Haroun, roi des Ṭaiyayé, se porta vers le Beit Roumayê. Lorsqu'il passa par Édesse, des trâitres se présentèrent pour accuser les chrétiens (disant): "Ils sont des espions; l'empereur des Romains vient chaque année prier dans leur église," et ils lui demandèrent de faire démolir la grande église, et d'empêcher de sonner la cloche. Le roi dit à Yaḥyā, son conseiller: "Que te semble-t-il de cette accusation?" Celui-ci répondit avec sagesse: "Il ne convient pas de le recevoir." Et aussitôt les trâitres furent chassés et même punis.(399)

This story, which seems intended as an illustration of Yaḥyā's wisdom and justice, occurs some ten years before Hārūn ordered the destruction of the churches. It also results in no destruction at all; whereas we have seen that damage was actually done, if not in Edessa itself.

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(395) Ṭabarī, III, 1044-1045.

(396) There is nothing about churches actually being destroyed at this time in Edessa itself, however, in Segal's *Edessa*.

(397) Michael the Syrian, III, 20-21; cf. Canard, "La prise d'Héraclée," pp. 347, 361.

(398) Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 131; Tritton, *Caliphs*, p. 48; Canard, "La prise d'Héraclée," p. 361, "en représailles peut-être."

(399) Michael the Syrian, III, 10; shorter version at *Chronicle of 1234*, II, 1 (tr. Abouna). Cf. Tritton, *Caliphs*, pp. 106-107; Segal, *Edessa*, pp. 200-201.

We find better evidence for the theory of a "fifth column" in the story behind the destruction of the churches as found in Michael the Syrian (above). The monks of Gubba Barraya, in a quarrel over succession to a bishopric, opposed the Jacobite patriarch Cyriacus.

> Tous les rebelles et les évêques qui avaient été déposés de l'épiscopat se réunirent et allèrent trouver Haroun, roi des Ṭaiyayê, dans la prairie de Dabeq, au moment où il se disposait à envahir le pays des Romains. "Nous faisons savoir à l'émir protégé (de Dieu) que ce Cyriacus, qui s'intitule patriarche, a été établi notre chef sans notre consentement...il est l'ennemi du roi et de tous les musulmans. Il se bâtit des églises dans le pays des Romains; il fait passer des lettres aux Romains, et il ne consent pas à demeurer dans le lieu où tu es; mais quand tu viens en Orient, il s'en va en Occident." Quand la lettre eut été lue, un édit parut, ordonnant de détruire les églises de la région de Tagra, et toute église nouvelle....
>
> Matar, qui avait été envoyé pour dévaster les églises, commit des choses horribles non seulement à Tagra, mais encore dans les villages (du district) d'Antioche et à Jérusalem. Il démolit des églises anciennes, et notre église à Jérusalem. Il en retira un grand profit. Tout le monde maudissait les Goubbayê qui furent la cause de cette ruine.(400)

These events occur at the right time. However, several problems arise. Hārūn's response does not seem directly connected to these events, even in this text ("Quand la lettre eut été lue, un édit parut...."). Furthermore, demolition of a church in Jerusalem does not make sense in reprisals supposedly taken against the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch.

Theophanes also reports demolition of churches in Jerusalem.(401) He dates this to the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn. However, the date which he gives for this, A.M. 6301 (=A.D. 808-809, A.H. 192-194) is too early for the fourth *fitna* (which began in 195/810). Muslim sources also seem to

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(400) Michael the Syrian, III, 19-21. The *Chronicle of 813*, pp. 194-196, reports this schism, without mentioning the Caliph's edict. Here Hārūn takes the side of Cyriacus. Brooks notes on p. 183 that the unknown author of this chronicle used the same source as Michael.

(401) Theophanes, p. 484.

be unaware of any such destruction of churches during the fourth *fitna*. Canard thought that this passage in Theophanes should be dated back to A.H. 191.(402) If this is correct, then we have evidence from Syriac and from Greek sources of destruction of churches in Jerusalem, at the very same time that churches were being demolished in al-`Awāṣim (as attested by Arabic and Syriac sources).

The Syriac chronicler has interpreted all this as measures taken against the Jacobites, resulting from a Jacobite quarrel and a Jacobite betrayal. The Muslim sources, however, give a different impression.

Hārūn's order to destroy the churches of al-`Awāṣim appears in Ṭabarī together with an edict forbidding dhimmīs of Baghdad to dress and to ride in the manner of Muslims.(403) In this same year (191), Hārūn imposed jizya on Nicephorus and his son, in addition to tribute amounting to 30,000 dinars.(404) Hārūn's panegyricists made much of this jizya at the time.(405) The imposing of jizya on the Emperor and the edict against dhimmīs of Baghdad happened in the same year as the destruction of churches in the *thughūr* and in Jerusalem. All these events must be considered together.(406)

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(402) "La prise d'Héraclée," p. 347.

(403) Ṭabarī III, 713; Azdī, p. 311. "Hārūn wrote to al-Sindī ibn Shāhik ordering him to make the *ahl al-dhimma* in Madīnat al-Salām dress and ride differently...."

(404) Khalīfa, p. 737 (s.a. 190); Theophanes, p. 482; cf. Canard, "La prise d'Héraclée," pp. 351-352, 358.

(405) See the poem of Marwān ibn Abī Ḥafṣa, beginning of this chapter; Abū 'l-`Atāhiya, at Ṭabarī, III, 698.

(406) Several of these themes appear in a letter which Nicephorus is said to have sent to Hārūn in the third year of his reign (=A.H. 190-191), recorded by Georgius Monachus, pp. 772-773 (cf. Canard, "La prise d'Héraclée," p. 348).

> Why do you rejoice in wrongdoing and in shedding human blood? Why do you not remain content with what you have,

Hārūn's order to destroy churches did not come as a response to a "fifth column," real or imagined. The closest parallel in early Islamic history is to be found in the Umayyad period, when `Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān is said to have ordered the seizing of the pillars of the church of Gethsemane, to incorporate into the new "temple of Mecca."(407) He also "removed the gilded cupola of brass from a Christian church in Baalbekk and placed it on the mosque of Jerusalem, over the holy rock."(408) His son al-Walīd pulled down the church of St. John the Baptist in Damascus to erect the great mosque.(409) Other examples can be cited.(410) In the instance of `Abd al-Malik's pillar-

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> instead of violating the ancient frontiers which you inherited from your ancestors (*horous arkhaious kai patrōous*)? Which prophet or divine teacher taught you to do these things? Hasn't your own prophet Moukhoumed commanded you to take the Christian as your brother, and to proclaim him [as such]? The Creator of all, who has both sides in His care, does not rejoice at the wrongful shedding of innocent blood--no! Have you come to inflict wrongs on people who have done you no wrong, because of a lack of silver or gold or anything else? Yet you possess to satiety that which is finest and most difficult to acquire, the object of our desire, in the Holy Land, the wealthiest land (*ek tēs hieras gēs kai plousiōtatēs*).

(407) Theophanes, p. 365. Sergius ibn Mansūr interceded; Justinian sent replacement pillars.

(408) Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, p. 225, citing Eutychius, II, 373.

(409) Ṭabarī, II, 1275; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 125; N. Elisséeff, tr., *La description de Damas d'Ibn `Asākir* (Damascus 1959), pp. 27-38; H. Lammens, *Etudes sur le siècle des Omayyades* (Beirut, 1930), pp. 267-304.

(410) E.g., Ḥimṣ (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 131; al-Ramla, where Sulaymān ibn `Abd al-Malik forced the Christians of Lydda to yield marble columns (hidden in the sand) for his "white mosque." This must be Sulaymān rather than Hishām, as reported by Muqaddasī, p. 119: cf. F. Gabrieli, *Il califfato di Hisham* (Alexandria 1935), p. 130, where this is the only reference to a mosque in a list of "public works" executed during the reign of Hishām. Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, p. 143) and Yāqūt (*Buldān*, II, 818) report Sulaymān (who resided in al-Ramla) for this event.

stealing, a "fifth column" (of Orthodox clergy) has also been suggested.(411)

3.6 Conclusion

3.6.1 The District of al-ʿAwāṣim

An apparently simple event, the creation of a new district in the frontier area, has proved quite complicated. Prior to 170, the *thughūr* were formally subject to the governor[s] of Qinnasrīn and al-Jazīra. In the reign of al-Mahdī, the caliph himself, and increasingly his son Hārūn, ran things themselves to a great extent. Administrative and military confusion became evident in the crisis of 168-169, during which the ʿAbbāsid governor of Qinnasrīn and al-Jazīra actually directed military operations, apparently for the first time and with disastrous results. He was sacked, and to meet the emergency the mint and (for a short time) the governor of Armenia moved to al-Hārūniyya in the *thughūr*. There is no evidence (apart from the coins) that the *thughūr* were incorporated into the province of Armenia; but in any case, they were certainly cut off from Qinnasrīn and al-Jazīra, before the accession of Hārūn in 170.

At the same time, another crisis was brewing over the succession. During the period of tension which ended with the death of Mūsā al-Hādī, the *thughūr* seem to have remained loyal to Hārūn.(412)

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(411) O. Grabar, "The Umayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem," *Ars Orientalis* (1959), p. 59. Theodore, representative of the See of Jerusalem at the Sixth Ecumenical Council in Constantinople in 680, would have been seeking to "invite intervention" in Palestine by reading an epistle of Sophronius. Grabar argues from instances of (mostly financial) persecution of Christians, and from the exiling of the archbishop of Damascus under *al-Walīd II* for anti-Muslim speeches (Theophanes, pp. 641-643).

(412) See "Al-Khalīfa al-Marḍī."

Upon succeeding to the rule in 170, Hārūn ordered the creation of the new district of al-`Awāṣim. We may interpret this move both as an attempt to restore administrative order, and as a means of keeping the *thughūr* bound closely to himself.

However, the early years of Hārūn's reign show no signs of a new administrative order in al-`Awāṣim. Al-Hārūniyya remained the mint of Armenia well into 171; and it is not until 173 that a governor of the district (`Abd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ) can be identified with any certainty. But `Abd al-Malik was also governor of Qinnasrīn. We might therefore conclude either that Hārūn's attempt to make the district independent (and specifically of Qinnasrīn and al-Jazīra) failed quite early on; or else that al-`Awāṣim was never intended to be a regular province at all.

It is not clear if `Abd al-Malik was dismissed in or around 177. In any case, the *fitna* in Syria at that time resulted in the unification of that province, under Barmakid control. Jund Qinnasrīn seems to have been added temporarily to that union, but minus al-`Awāṣim. Into the gap stepped Hārūn himself, managing affairs from his new capital in al-Raqqa (beginning in 180).

`Abd al-Malik reemerged as governor of the combined provinces of Qinnasrīn and al-`Awāṣim by 184 at the latest. He remained there until his fall in 187, while the Barmakids retained control over Damascus. `Abd al-Malik had a smaller power base than the one which Kennedy has assigned him, but there is reason nonetheless to see continuity in his position with that of his father Ṣāliḥ ibn `Alī, who had been *walī al-Shām wa'l-thughūr*.

Hārūn then spent much of the time which remained to him on jihād. Al-Qāsim receded into the background soon after his appointment as governor

of al-`Awāṣim in 187. A number of military men, none of them members of the `Abbāsid family, received commands from Hārūn in the frontier region; one of them, Thābit ibn Naṣr, became *walī al-thughūr*. But Hārūn himself dominated in the region in the last part of his life.

Hārūn thus vacillated throughout his reign between two methods of governing al-`Awāṣim. The first was to allow things to fall into the pattern they had followed before the reorganization, that is, to allow an `Abbāsid prince to control the frontier area from a base in northern Syria. It was dangerous, however, to allow such a potential rival to become too well entrenched in this region of armies and fortresses. (The example of `Abdallāh ibn `Alī may have remained vivid.)

The second method was for Hārūn to take control himself. He did this periodically, and with great zest. Hārūn's preoccupation with jihād may have been the reason for these shifts, but the consequences were enormous for the administration of all the affected provinces. And during these periods al-`Awāṣim, the place of jihād, became the object of the caliph's attention, even his private preserve.

We may ask what it meant to be governor of such a district, or *ḥayyiz*. Hārūn's last governor of the *thughūr*, Thābit ibn Naṣr, never held any other governorships--whereas we normally find `Abbāsid governors at a number of posts during their careers. Thābit was, of course, a soldier; and the phrase used of him, *wallāhu [Hārūn] al-thughūr*, seems actually to mean "he gave him command of the expeditionary force."(413)

A Syriac chronicler's view of `Abd al-Malik reinforces this impression:

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(413) Ṭabarī, III, 732. The fact that Thābit conducted a *fidā'* in the same year (192) does not change this.

> Quand ʿAbd al-Malik, qui était chargé de faire la guerre aux Romains, apprit que Nicephorus régnait....(414)

ʿAbd al-Razzāq, who in appears in one source as *wālī* of the *thughūr* in 181, is described as "brave and noble."(415) And even al-Qāsim received his appointment together with command of the *ṣā'ifa* of 187.

Not surprisingly, a governorship of al-ʿAwāṣim meant that one led the jihād, that one acted as warrior or *murābiṭ*, rather than as administrator. Al-ʿAwāṣim was not and could not be a real province. At the same time, it did have real administrative needs; but these could only be supplied from the outside. This is why real power was wielded in al-ʿAwāṣim either by someone who simultaneously held another governorship, or else by the Caliph himself.

3.6.2 Hārūn and the Jihād

The energy which Hārūn devoted to his apparently futile Byzantine wars has puzzled some modern historians. The disparity between effort and results has been attributed to "difficulties of supply and the harshness of the weather."(416) Alternatively, the war effort has been described as "propaganda for internal consumption."(417)

Such things are difficult to gauge; but real activity in the *thughūr*, as measured in buildings, fortifications, the raising of armies, and the organization of supply networks, does not seem to have increased much in the 23 (lunar) years of Hārūn's reign, in comparison with the preceding years of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. The single greatest difference was the caliph's personal involvement in the jihād. The following call to arms, issued in 190, seems

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(414) Michael the Syrian, III, 15.

(415) *Kitāb al-ʿuyūn*, p. 301; above, 3.5.3.

(416) F. Omar, EI2, III, 234.

(417) Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 131.

unprecedented.

> [Hārūn] wrote to the horizons [calling for] hearkening and obedience. The ring of al-Manṣūr was brought for him to wear on his right hand. This was the *khātam al-khāṣṣa*, inscribed "my trust and faith are in God."(418)

Here the caliph's own person and the prestige of his family predominate: *al-sam' wa'l-ṭā'a* must be made to him. And in the event, Hārūn's call for ṭā'a was answered by, among others, *muṭṭawwi'a*.(419) Similarly, the poets who sing the praises of this warrior-caliph frequently mention the *thughūr*, but in doing so omit the other ghāzīs and the community in general.(420)

It has also been noticed that Hārūn devoted himself to *ḥajj* as well as to jihād.(421) While directing operations in 190, Hārūn wore a *qalansuwa* bearing the inscription *ḤĀJJUN GHĀZIN*.(422) His panegyricists quickly picked up the theme.(423)

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(418) Ṭabarī, III, 708-709.

(419) Ṭabarī, III, 709.

(420) See the lines of Marwān ibn Abī Ḥafṣa quoted at the beginning of this chapter, and Ṭabarī, III, 696-698.

(421) D. Sourdel (*La civilisation de l'Islam classique* [Paris 1964], p. 71) says that Hārūn's conception of his duty as head of the community "lui faisait diriger alternativement le Pèlerinage à la Mekke et les expéditions guerrières saisonnières menées en territoire byzantin." The notion that Hārūn alternated pilgrimage and jihād is not strictly accurate. Hārūn made the pilgrimage in 170, 173, 174, 175, 177, 179, 181, 186, and 188; cf. Canard, "La prise d'Héraclée," pp. 357-358.

(422) Ṭabarī, III, 710.

(423) E.g., Abū 'l-Ma'ālī al-Kilābī (Ṭabarī III, 709), who recited:

fa-man yaṭlub liqā'aka aw yuridhu
fa-bi'l-ḥaramayni aw aqṣā 'l-thughūri

fa-fī arḍi 'l-'aduwwi 'alā ṭimirrin
wa-fī arḍi 'l-taraffuhi fawqa kūri

Whoever seeks to meet you, or sets out for this
Must go to the two sanctuaries, or else
to the farthest of the thughūr.

This ostentatious practice of both pilgrimage and jihād might be called "propaganda for internal consumption," or else a reflection of "la fidélité rigoriste du calife à ses devoirs de la Communauté." But it is important to remember that Hārūn sought and received professional advice in these matters. He performed ḥajj accompanied by one hundred *fuqahā'*.(424) We do not know if a similar detachment of scholars escorted him to the frontier whenever he went on jihād. But this was not necessary in any case, since by this time the scholars were already there in force (below, Chapter V).

In general Hārūn seems to have respected the views of the *fuqahā'*. He commissioned the *Kitāb al-kharāj* from Abū Yūsuf. In 181, soon after moving to al-Raqqa, he changed chancery practice, so that henceforth official letters began with the name of the Prophet.(425) Scholarly advisors are likely to have been involved in this decision. Hārūn also appears in the biographies of scholars who were associated with jihād and the *thughūr*, in particular Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī and Abdallāh ibn al-Mubārak.(426) At times we may detect a note of rivalry between Hārūn and the scholars.(427) But the scholars of the *thughūr* were certainly well pleased with Hārūn.

In the land of the enemy [you are mounted] on a noble horse;
In the land of ease, on a camel saddle.

(424) Ṭabarī, III, 741; cf. Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph*, p. 89, n. 198.

(425) Ṭabarī, III, 646.

(426) E.g., Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, I, 152, where Hārūn mentions both these scholars in a conversation with a zindīq; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb al-ta'rīkh al-kabīr*, II, 153f.; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, X, 156-157.

(427) When Hārūn first arrived in al-Raqqa, people were so intent on hearing and following 'Abdallāh ibn al-Mubārak that an *umm walad* of the caliph exclaimed that Ibn al-Mubārak, not Hārūn, was king. Khaṭīb, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, X, 156-157.

> Mu'āwiya ibn 'Amr(428) said: In diligence for *ghazw* and perspicuity in jihād, we saw a magnificent thing in the Commander of the Faithful Hārūn. He employed more skill (*ṣinā'a*) than had ever been employed before, he divided up property (*al-amwāl*) in the *thughūr* and the *sawāḥil*, and he caused anxiety to the enemy and subdued him.(429)

It will be seen below (5.3) that a debate took place at this same time among the scholars on the relative merits of pilgrimage and jihād. At issue was the degree of personal merit which one acquired in each of these two activities, and not their benefit (or necessity) to the community. Hārūn hedged his bets, by practicing both. But to a large extent, he must have shared his advisors' views on these matters. Accordingly, we might attribute Hārūn's enthusiasm for the jihād simply to a desire to save his own soul, by following the advice of the doctors of the law. But beyond this, we may have here some clues to the puzzles which the history of al-'Awāṣim has presented.

3.6.3 Al-'Awāṣim as Sacred Territory

Prominent in both jihād and ḥajj is a journey, usually long and difficult. The journey of pilgrimage has as its goal a shrine, that is, a place; one's activities upon arrival focus upon that place. By contrast, the journey of jihād ends with an activity. Theoretically, one must travel to any place where there are still unsubjected infidels, in order to perform this activity of jihād.

Hārūn upset this distinction, by creating a separate, official place of jihād, called al-'Awāṣim. The *mujāhidūn* could now make this their goal, just as the pilgrims made the holy places theirs. Naturally, this place called

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(428) On him see below, 5.5.2.2. He transmitted the *Kitāb al-siyar* from Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī, and died in Baghdad in 213, 214, or 215.

(429) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 163.

al-`Awāṣim did not simply become a fourth *ḥaram*. Its governor was supervisor of an activity, rather than administrator of a place. Nevertheless, al-`Awāṣim in the reign of Hārūn did acquire some of the characteristics of a shrine.

3.6.3.1 Qurbān wa-wasīla

Al-Qāsim in his appointment over al-`Awāṣim was dedicated to God as a *qurbān wa-wasīla*. This is as sharp an example as any of Hārūn's desire to monopolize the merit of the jihād for himself and his dynasty. But in addition, Hārūn's offering his son as sacrifice may have been intended to recall the similar action of Ibrāhīm.(430) The Qur'ān does not name Ibrāhīm's son here. But if (as is most likely), Ismā`īl was understood to be involved, then we have a strong connection with the Meccan shrine.(431)

In another passage about Ismā`īl, the word *marḍī* makes its only appearance in the Qur'ān.(432) This word appears as epithet and *laqab* of Hārūn in 170, the year in which he succeeded to the rule and created the district of al-`Awāṣim.(433) It is curious that the Qur'ānic Ismā`īl should be lurking in the background in both cases.

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(430) Qur'ān 37:102-108. The verb *dhabaḥa* and its *maṣdar*, *dhibḥ*, appear here, not *qurbān*. However, in two of its three Qur'ānic appearances, *qurbān* does refer to sacrifice: 3:183, 5:27 (the sacrifices of Cain and Abel). At 46:28, *qurbān* is perhaps to be understood as synonomous with *qurbā*.

(431) The alternative leads to a similar connection, since the episode with Isaac took place on Mount Moriah.

(432) 19:55, *wa-kāna `inda rabbihi marḍiyyan*.

(433) Bonner, "Al-Khalīfa al-Marḍī."

3.6.3.2 The destruction of the churches

Churches were destroyed in only two places: the frontier area and Jerusalem. The insult and propaganda value of such moves against Christian Jerusalem is clear enough. But why al-`Awāṣim? The "fifth column" theory does not work. It seems that Hārūn was concerned not only to make a gesture at his Christian enemies, but also to purify the land, to make it Islamic. Not only did many Christians live in the large area encompassed by al-`Awāṣim, but the land had changed hands so many times, that its status according to Islamic law had become problematic.

> Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Anṭākī told me that Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī used to disapprove of buying land in the *thughūr*. He would say that at first a group of warriors (*qawm*) had taken possession of [this land], and debarred the Rūm from it. However, they did not divide it up among themselves, and it [later] fell into the possession of others. As a result, an intelligent person must retain a measure of doubt which it would be best for him to avoid.(434)

We have seen that the scholars applauded Hārūn for his attitude toward precisely this issue, that of *qasm al-amwāl*.(435)

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(434) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 171.

(435) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 163; above, 3.6.2.

3.7 *Catalogue of the Coins of Harunabad and al-Haruniyya*

George Miles noted the "bewildering number of issues at this mint during the three years of its existence."(436) Sixteen distinct issues have been identified here.

All these coins are silver dirhams, with the exception of Issue 5 (copper fals). All coins have the obverse legend *Lā ilāha illā / Ilāhu waḥdahu / lā sharīka lahu* ("There is no god but / God alone / with no associate"). The reverse margin inscription of all the dirhams is derived from Qur'ān 9:33, as is usual for coins of this period. The catalogue therefore includes only the following, for each issue:

1) Date and mint.

2) Illustration (if available).

3) Reverse field legend, with translation.

4) Obverse margin (giving mint and date), with translation.

5) Annulet pattern.

6) Sources, in approximate chronological order, but beginning with Tiesenhausen's *Monety vostochnavo Khalifata* (when applicable), this still being the principal reference work for early 'Abbāsid coins, and ending with the collection of the American Numismatic Society.

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(436) Miles, *Rare Islamic Coins*, p. 60.

Abbreviations for the Catalogue (See also Bibliography)

Ahmed Ziya Bey: *Catalogue of Islamic Coins*. Istanbul, 1910.

ANS: Collection of the American Numismatic Society.

Artuk, Cat.: Artuk, I. and C. *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Teshirdeki Islami sikkeler kataloğu*. Cilt I. Istanbul, 1970.

B. (=Berlin): Nützel, H. *Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Katalog der orientalischen Münzen*. Band I. Berlin, 1898.

BMC: Lane-Poole, S. *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*. London, 1875-1890.

C. (=Constantinople): Ghālib, Ismā'īl. *Maskūkāt-i qadīme islāmiyeh qataloghī*. Istanbul, 1312 (1894-1895).

CNS: *Corpus nummorum saeculorum IX-XI qui in Suecia reperti sunt*. Stockholm 1975-.

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Fraehn, Nova Suppl.: Fraehn, C.M. *Nova supplementa* (Opusculorum postumorum pars prima edidit B. Dorn). St. Petersburg, 1855.

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Miles, NHR: Miles, G.C. *A Numismatic History of Rayy*. New York, 1938.

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Nicol, Eg. Lib.: Nicol, N.D. et al., *Catalog of the Islamic Coins, Weights, Dies and Medals in the Egyptian National Library, Cairo*. Malibu, 1982.

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P. (=Paris): Lavoix, H. *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Khalifes orientaux.* Paris, 1887.

RNB: *Revue de la Numismatique Belge.*

Stickel, Handbuch: Stickel, J.G. *Handbuch zur morgendländischen Münzkunde (Das Großherzogliche Orientalische Münzcabinet zu Jena).* Leipzig, 1845.

T.: Tiesenhausen, W. [Tisengauzen, V.]. *Monety Vostochnavo Khalifata.* St. Petersburg, 1873.

Tornberg, Numi cufici: Tornberg, C.J. *Numi cufici Regii Numophylacii Holmiensis.* Uppsala, 1848.

Zambaur, Münzprägungen: Zambaur, E. von. *Die Münzprägungen des Islams*, ed. P. Jaekel. Wiesbaden, 1968.

ZDMG: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

1. 168 Hārūnābād

Armīniya	ارمينية
The Caliph al-Mahdī	الخليفة المهدى
At the Command of Hārūn	مما امر به هرون
Son of the Commander of the Faithful	بن امير المومنين
Ḥasan	حسن

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بهرون اباد سنة ثمان وستين ومئة

In the name of God. This dirham was struck in Hārūnābād in the year 168.

Annulets: 000 000 000

T. 1051; Stickel, ZDMG IX (1855), p. 251; Tornberg, ZDMG XXII (1868), p. 286; BMC IX, No. 132m. Stickel described the lettering as "sehr klein und fein, etwas nach links geneigt."

2. 169 Hārūnābād



Armīniya	ارمينية
The Caliph al-Mahdī	الخليفة المهدى
At the Command of Hārūn	مما امر به هرون
Son of the Commander of the Faithful	بن امير المومنين
Ḥasan	حسن

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بهرون اباد سنة تسع وستين ومئة

In the name of God. This dirham was struck in Hārūnābād in the year 169.

Annulets: 000 000 000

T. 1076, referring to several publications which have been unavailable, namely: Fraehn, *Leipzig Lit. Zeit.* (1822), p. 1034, No. 130; *Catalogue de la coll. de Sprewitz*, No. 83 bis; *Museum quon. Sprew.*, No. 105; *Mus. num. Rost.* fol. 30, recto, No. 11, a. Also in: Fraehn, *Recensio*, p. *7, No. *116; BMC IX, No. 132n; Lane-Poole, *Khed.*, no. 393 = Nicol, *Eg. Lib.*, No. 818; Lane-Poole, SPC, p. 112 (40), No. 319; P. Nos. 735, 736; Ismail, No. 421; Artuk, *Cat.*, I, No. 203; Artuk, *V. Turk Tarih Kongresi* (Ankara 1960), p. 216; Artuk, *Denizbaci Definesi*, No. 298; ANS 1921.999.57; 1972.79.588; 1972.170.686; 1972.170.687; 1972.170.688; 1972.170.689; 1972.170.690 (illustrated above); (Univ. Museum) 1002.1.197.

Nicol, "ʿAbbāsid Provincial Administration," p. 320, refers to a Hārūnābād coin of 167, listed in I.L. Dzhalagania, *Monetnie klady Gruzii* (Tiflis, 1974). This coin is likely to belong to this issue (with the date of 169) because: 1) there is no indication anywhere else of Hārūnābād coins for 167; 2) Issue 1 probably began *late* in 168 (see above, 3.4); 3) *tisʿ* can easily be confused with *sabʿ* in Kufic.

2a. 169 Hārūnābād (with Khuzayma ibn Khāzim named as governor)

T. 1077 lists a "dirham of Hārūnābād" ("Garunabadskii dirgem tovo zhe goda" [=169]). Tiesenhausen gives three references.

1) Stickel, *Handbuch*, pp. 81-82, which clearly refers to our Issue 4 (see below).

2) Fraehn, *Numi kufici ex variis museis selecti* (St. Petersburg, 1823), p. 51, where Fraehn discusses a coin issued during Khuzayma's second governorship of Armenia, in 189, and gives no confirmation of the existence of the coin which we have identified here as Issue 2a. Tiesenhausen's sources are therefore reduced to:

3) Fraehn, Ms. X, fol. 71, recto, and XI, 62-63, now utterly inaccessible. Tiesenhausen understands Fraehn as referring precisely to this Issue 2a ("zaklyuchaetsya slyeduyushchaya zametka po povodu etoi monety"), and quotes at length from these unedited manuscripts. However, nothing in the sections quoted refers to Hārūnābād as a mint name. Fraehn discussed Khuzayma's career in Armenia, Baghdad, etc., saying, "Choseimam nostrum a. 169 Ciliciae praefuisse ex hoc numo intelligimus" ("From this coin we learn that our Khuzayma was governor of Cilicia in 169"). This could equally well be said of Issue 3 (see below). It therefore appears to be the case that either Fraehn or Tiesenhausen mistakenly attributed the mint name Hārūnābād to a coin belonging to Issue 3 (al-Hārūniyya). Confirmation of this may be found in the fact that Issue 3 is lacking altogether in the *Monety vostochnavo Khalifata*.

3. 169 al-Hārūniyya




Armīniya	ارمينية
The Caliph al-Mahdī	الخليفة المهدى
At the Command of Hārūn	مما امر به هرون
Son of the Commander of the Faithful	بن امير المومنين
Khuzayma	خزيمة

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالهرونية سنة تسع وستين ومئة

In the name of God. This dirham was struck in al-Hārūniyya in the year 169.

Annulets: O oo O oo O oo

BMC I, No. 133; P. No. 737; Anderson, *Kochtel*, p. 20; S. Album, unpublished notes on collection of Ashmolean Museum; ANS 1972.79.589 (illustrated above).

4. 169 al-Hārūniyya




Khuzayma	خزيمة
The Caliph al-Hādī	الخليفة الهادى
At the Command of Hārūn	مما امر به هرون
Son of the Commander of the Faithful	بن امير المومنين
Ibn Khāzim	بن خازم

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالهرونية سنة تسع وستين ومئة

In the name of God. This dirham was struck in al-Hārūniyya in the year 169.

Annulets: ooo oo ooo oo ooo oo

T. 1088, citing Fraehn, Ms. XI, p. 64 (unavailable); Fraehn, *Nova supplementa*, I, 119, a (p. 12); Stickel, *Handbuch*, No. XCIV (pp. 81-82); BMC I, No. 138; Lane-Poole, *Khed.*, No. 396 = Nicol, *Eg. Lib.*, No. 823; Lane-Poole, SPC, p. 112 (40), No. 319; B. No. 926; Østrup, No. 292; Ahmed Ziya Bey, No. 2223; Artuk, *Cat.*, no. 214; Qazzāz, *Sumer* XX (1964), p. 282, No. 9042; Artuk, *Denizbaci Definesi*, No. 343; CNS 1.2 Butte 38. Stora Velinga I, No. 243 (p. 233); ANS 1917.215.392; 1972.79.590 (illustrated above); 1972.170.692.

5. AE Fals. 169 al-Hārūniyya

The Caliph	الخليفة
At the Command of the Amīr	مما امر به الامير
Khuzayma ibn Khāzim	خزيمة بن خازم
God Strengthen his Victory	عز الله نصره
Al-Hādī	الهادى

بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس بالهرونية سنة تسع وستين ومئة

In the name of God. This fals was struck in al-Hārūniyya in the year 169.

T. 1093, citing Fraehn, Ms. XI; Bartholomaei, "Seconde lettre à M. Soret," RNB 3e série, V (1861), p. 27; ANS 1959.165.2.

Engraver's error, *ʿazza* for *aʿazza*. This line is not legible in the ANS specimen.

6. 169 al-Hārūniyya

Khuzayma	خزيمة
Muḥammad is the Messenger	محمد رسول
of God, God's Blessing upon him	الله صلى الله عليه
and Peace	وسلم
The Caliph Mūsā	الخليفة موسى
Ibn Khāzim	بن خازم

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالهرونية سنة تسع وستين ومئة

In the name of God. This dirham was struck in al-Hārūniyya in the year 169.

T. 1089 gives only two references for this coin.

1) Nesselmann, *Neue Preussische Provinzial-Blätter* (1854), p. 404. This appears to be a mistake for p. 429, where Nesselmann reports a newly found coin, whose reverse inscription he translates: "Der Khalif Musa. Von denen, welche angeordnet hat Harun, der Gehilfe des Bundes der Moslimen." The mint name Hārūniyya is not mentioned here; and the phrase *walī ʿahd al-Muslimīn* appears on no coins of al-Hārūniyya. This coin must therefore be excluded from the Hārūniyya corpus.

2) Nesselmann, *Die orientalischen Münzen*, No. 104, is therefore the sole reported specimen of this issue. It bears a different inscription from Issue #4. Nesselmann recognized how unusual this coins was: "Alle mir bekannten Münzen al-Hādī's aus Harunija vom Jahre 169...weichen wesentlich von der Vorliegenden ab."

7. 169 al-Hārūniyya

At the Command of Yazīd	ممـا امر يزيـد
Muḥammad is the Messenger	محمد رسول
of God, God's Blessing upon him	الله صلى الله عليه
and Peace. The Caliph al-Hādī	وسلم الخليـفـة الهادى
Ibn Mazyad	بن مزيـد

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالهرونيـة سنـة تسع وستين ومئة

In the name of God. This dirham was struck in al-Hārūniyya in the year 169.

Annulets as at Issue #4.(437)

T. 1090, citing Fraehn, Ms. XI, p. 60 (unavailable); Stickel, *Handbuch*, p. 80 (XCIII), with illustration; Qazzāz, *Sumer* XX (1964), p. 282 (No. 8455).

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(437) I owe this information to Dr. N.D. Nicol.

8. 170 al-Hārūniyya

At the Command of Yazīd	مما امر يزيد
Muḥammad is the Messenger	محمد رسول
of God, God's Blessing upon him	الله صلى الله عليه
and Peace. The Caliph al-Hādī	وسلم الخليفة الهادى
Ibn Mazyad	بن مزيد

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالهرونية سنة سبعين ومئة

In the name of God. This dirham was struck in al-Hārūniyya in the year 170.

Annulets: 0 ooo 0 ooo 0 ooo

BMC I, No. 142; Ahmed Ziya Bey, No. 224; Album, notes on Ashmolean.

9. 170 al-Hārūniyya



Yūsuf	يوسف
Muḥammad is the Messenger	محمد رسول
of God, God's Blessing upon him	الله صلى الله عليه
and Peace. The Caliph al-Hādī	وسلم الخليفة الهادى
خ	خ

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالهرونية سنة سبعين ومئة

In the name of God. This dirham was struck in al-Hārūniyya in the year 170.

P. no. 744; M. No. 321; CNS 1.2 Storo Velinge, I, 233, no. 233; ANS 1972.170.693 (illustrated above).

10. 170 al-Hārūniyya



Ibrāhīm	ابرهيم
Muḥammad is the Messenger of God	محمد رسول الله
The Caliph al-Hādī	الخليفة الهادى
At the Command of Hārūn	مما امر به هرون
Son of the Commander of the Faithful	بن امير المومنين
Jarīr	جرير

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالهرونية سنة سبعين ومئة

In the name of God. This dirham was struck in al-Hārūniyya in the year 170.

Annulets: 0 oo 0 oo 0 oo

T. 1099; Fraehn, *Recensio*, p. *8, No. *123; Stickel, *Handbuch*, p. 86 (C); BMC I, No. 139; P. No. 743; B. Nos. 928, 929; Tornberg, *Numi cufici*, No. 129; Østrup, No. 291; M. No. 322; Artuk, *Cat.*, No. 215; Artuk, *Denizbacı Definesi*, No. 344; Qazzāz, *Sumer* XX (1964), p. 282 (No. 8832); S. Album, "Pricelist #15" (August 1979), No. 230; ANS 1917.215.393; 1959.165.38; 1972.79.59 (illustrated above); 1972.79.592.

11. 170 al-Hārūniyya



Jarīr	جريـر
Muḥammad is the Messenger of God	محمد رسول الله
The Caliph al-Marḍī	الخليـفـة المرضى
At the Command of Hārūn	مما امر به هرون
Commander of the Faithful	امير المومنيـن

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالهرونـيـة سنـة سبعـين ومـئة

In the name of God. This dirham was struck in al-Hārūniyya in the year 170.

Annulets: O oo O oo O oo

T. 1118; B. No. 1240; Artuk, *Cat.*, No. 252 = Artuk, *Denizbacı Definesi*, No. 380; Miles, RIC No. 233 (pp. 60-61) = ANS (Wood Collection); ANS 17.216.217 (illustrated above).

12. 170 al-Hārūniyya




Rajā'	رجا
Muḥammad is the Messenger	محمد رسول
of God, God's Blessing	الله صلى الله
upon him and Peace.	عليه وسلم
The Caliph al-Marḍī	الخليفة المرضى
ح سو	ح سو

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالهرونية سنة سبعين ومية

In the name of God. This dirham was struck in al-Hārūniyya in the year 170.

Annulets: O oo O oo O oo

T. 1117, quoting Fraehn, *Sammlung kleiner Abhandlungen* and Ms. 38, fol. 65, both unavailable. Fraehn, *Recensio*, p. *11, No. *133; BMC I, no. 230 (illustrated above); Lane-Poole, *Khed.*, No. 397 = Nicol, *Eg. Lib.*, No. 1084; B. Nos. 1241, 1242; D. No. 183; CNS 1.2 Bjorke, No. 8 (p. 82); Qazzāz, *Sumer* XX (1964), pp. 78-79 (No. 8510); Artuk, *Denizbacı Definesi*, No. 381.

13. 171 al-Hārūniyya

Rajā'	رجا
Muḥammad is the Messenger	محمد رسول
of God, God's Blessing	الله صلى الله
upon him and Peace	عليه وسلم
The Caliph al-Marḍī	الخليفة المرضى
ح سو	ح سو

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالهرونية سنة احدى وسبعين ومية

In the name of God. This dirham was struck in al-Hārūniyya in the yar 171.

Annulets: O oo O oo O oo

T. 1142, quoting Fraehn, *Bull. scient.*, I, 100 (unavailable); Fraehn, *Recensio*, No. *133 (p. *11); Stickel, *Handbuch*, pp. 86-87 (CI); BMC I, no. 231; B. No. 1243; D. No. 193; Tornberg, *Numi cufici* No. 136.

14. 171 al-Hārūniyya

Rajā'	رجا
Muḥammad is the Messenger	محمد رسول
of God, God's Blessing	الله صلى الله
upon him and Peace	عليه وسلم
The Caliph al-Rashīd	الخليفة الرشيد
ح سو	ح سو

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالهرونية سنة احدى وسبعين ومئة

In the name of God. This dirham was struck in al-Hārūniyya in the year 171.

Annulets: 0 0 0 0 0

Only one specimen reported, Stickel, *Handbuch*, p. 90, No. CII (with drawn illustration, unavailable for reproduction). Stickel noted that this was "eine unedirte und merkwürdige und seltene Silbermünze."

Fraehn, *Nov. suppl*. 133a (p. 12) is a Hārūniyya coin dated 170, with a reverse legend corresponding exactly to this Issue #14. Fraehn wrote, "iisdem ac No. 133 [*Recensionis sc.*] titulis, nisi quod hic pro المرضى distincte الرشيد legitur." That is, this coin bears the same legend as *Recensio* No. 133, which belongs to Issue #13 (see above), except that it has the title *al-Rashīd* instead of *al-Marḍī*. It is therefore likely to be a coin of Issue #14 struck with an old obverse die.

15. 171 al-Hārūniyya




Yazīd	يزيد
Muḥammad is the Messenger	محمد رسول
of God, God's Blessing	الله صلى الله
upon him and Peace	عليه وسلم
The Caliph al-Rashīd	الخليفة الرشيد
Ibn Mazyad	بن مزيد

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالهرونية سنة احدى وسبعين ومئة

In the name of God. This dirham was struck in al-Hārūniyya in the year 171.

Annulets: O oo O oo O oo

Only one specimen: ANS 1972.79.593 (illustrated above).

16. 171 al-Hārūniyya



Ḥārith	حارث
Muḥammad is the Messenger of God	محمد رسول الله
The Caliph al-Rashīd	الخليفة الرشيد
At the Commad of Muḥammad	مما امر به محمد
Son of the Commander of the Faithful	بن امير المومنين
ص	ص

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم سنة احدى وسبعين ومئة

In the name of God. This dirham was struck in al-Hārūniyya in the yar 171.

Annulets: 0 oo 0 oo 0 oo

P. No. 851; ANS 1966.126.30 (illustrated above). Lavoix read رجا instead of حارث ; but it is likely that he misread this name, being aware of Issues 12-14. P. 851 resembles the ANS coin in all other respects.(438)

The name Ḥārith and the letter *ṣad* also appear on coins of al-Muḥammadiyya dated 172 (Miles, NHR, p. 55; BMC I, No. 191; Lane-Poole, *Khed.*, No. 467).

Muḥammad ibn amīr al-mu'minīn, the future al-Amīn, appears here as heir apparent.

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(438) This surmisal has been confirmed by Dr. Nicol, who has seen the coin in Paris.

169 al-Hārūniyya




ANS 1972.170.691 (illustrated above). The obverse of this coin corresponds to Issue 4, while the reverse belongs to Issue 11. It is therefore likely to be a mule, struck between dies belonging to different issues and different years.

Cf. Lane-Poole, SPC, p. 112 (40), No. 320, a Hārūniyya coin of 170 with a reverse corresponding to coins of Armenia dated 161 (al-Mahdī).

Chapter IV

AL-JU`L

4.1 *Introduction*

> Al-Manṣūr settled in Malaṭya 4000 soldiers from al-Jazīra, because [Malaṭya] is one of its *thughūr*. He granted each man ten dinars as a supplement to his stipend and a *ma`ūna* of one hundred dinars, aside from the *ju`l* which the tribes arrange among themselves. He supplied [the town] with a store of weapons, and granted plots of farmland to the soldiers.
>
> *Wa-askana 'l-Manṣūru Malaṭyata arba`ata alfi muqātilatin min ahli 'l-Jazīrati li-annahā min thughūrihā `ala ziyādati `asharati danānīra fī `aṭā'i kulli rajulin wa-ma`ūnati mi'ati dīnārin siwā 'l-ju`li 'lladhī yatajā`aluhu 'l-qabā'ilu baynahā wa-waḍa`a fīhā shiḥnatahā min al-silāḥi wa-aqṭa`a 'l-junda 'l-mazāri`a.*(439)

Of the several difficulties which this passage presents,(440) the most troublesome is that of *ju`l*. Brooks translated this word as "pay for substitutes," and Hitti simply as "pay."(441) The phrase *al-ju`l alladhī yatajā`aluhu al-qabā'il baynahā* implies a tribal organization of the *muqātila* and of their supplies. Such a tribal organization would go against the general picture of the garrisons of the *thughūr* in the early `Abbāsid period which has emerged so far in this dissertation.

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(439) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, pp. 187-188.

(440) Hitti translated *ma`ūna* as "bounty," a sense which seems plausible here (although one hundred dinars seems impossibly high for this), but which is not to be found in the dictionaries. It may refer to some sort of general fund, since the soldiers have already been granted a supplement, *ziyāda* (=*khāṣṣa*, see de Goeje, glossary to *Futūḥ*, s.v.).

(441) Brooks, "Byzantines and Arabs," *English Historical Review* XVI (1901), p. 89; Hitti, *The Origins of the Islamic State* (New York, 1916), p. 293.

This chapter will seek to establish the meaning of this rather obscure term, the relevance of which to the early ʿAbbāsid *thughūr* should be clear enough. The emphasis in what follows will be on the origins and early development of the practice of *juʿl*. But it will also soon become clear that this practice cannot be separated from the theory.

A brief discussion of the lexicographical tradition on *juʿl* will be followed by an examination of some references in old poetry. A section devoted to Qur'ān and tafsīr will then take up some underlying issues. Next follows a discussion of the early jurists. The subject of *juʿl* will be analyzed into components, and the positions of the four *madhāhib* will be examined on each point, if applicable. Finally, the ḥadīth will be discussed according to the categories set out in the preceding section on the jurists. The ḥadīth will be presented in the order: traditions of *tābiʿī*s, of *ṣaḥābī*s, and finally of the Prophet. This laborious groundwork cannot be avoided, since *juʿl*, as it turns out, is a fairly complicated subject which has not received the attention of modern scholars.(442)

4.1.1 Lexicography

The word *juʿl* has the general sense of "wages." But the Arabic lexicographical tradition recognizes a special meaning: "wages or pay, which one gives to a man that he may aid himself thereby to serve in the war."(443) It occurs "when a man is obligated to go to war, and has another man take his place in exchange for a stipulated wage."(444)

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(442) The comments of Aghnides, *Mohammedan Theories of Finance*, pp. 348-353, are of little help.

(443) Lane, *Lexicon*, quoting the *Tāj al-ʿarūs*.

(444) Ibn al-Athir, *Nihāya*, I, 276; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. *Wa-dhālika idhā wajaba ʿalā al-insān ghazw fa-jaʿala makānahu rajulan ākhar bi-juʿl yashtariṭuhu*.

The lexicographers claim that the word *ji`āla* (or *ja`āla*, or *ju`āla*), pl. *ja`ā'il*, is the most correct term for this procedure.(445) However, the plural *ja`ā'il* is the only one of these forms which occurs with any great frequency in the texts.

The dictionaries say that this situation occurs when a man has been called up (*`inda al-ba`th*).(446) It is first (and most often) described as a transaction taking place between two individuals, a *jā`il* (payor) and a *mujta`il* (payee). But *ju`l* also takes place within a larger group: "The people stipulated among themselves to give wages, or pay, to such of them as should serve as substitutes, on the occasion of being ordered forth to war" (*tajā`ala al-nās baynahum `inda al-ba`th*).(447) This phrase resembles the one in Balādhurī (*al-ju`l alladhī yatajā`aluhu al-qabā'il baynahā*), but has *al-nās* instead of *al-qabā'il*.

A further refinement occurs in some of the lexicographical works, in what amounts to another, somewhat different practice: when a group (*qawm*) has been summoned to war, one man of every four or five sets out, receiving *ju`l* from the three or four who remain at home.(448) But even when they discuss this practice, the lexicographers make no mention of the tribes (*qabā'il*) making arrangements among one another, as seems to be the case in

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(445) In the *Lisān* in particular, there is an attempt to fix precisely the meanings of all these variants.

(446) Zamakhsharī, *Fā'iq*, I, 198, and *Tāj al-`arūs*, s.v., both speak of *ju`l yadfa`uhu al-maḍrūb `alayhi al-ba`th ilā man yaghzū `anhu* ("*ju`l* paid by the man who has been called up to the man who goes to war in his stead").

(447) Azharī, *Tahdhīb al-lugha*, I, 374; Lane, *Lexicon*, and *Tāj al-`arūs*, s.v.

(448) Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, I, 276; *Lisān*, s.v. Here this practice is called *ju`l*.

(449) With the exception of the *Tahdhīb al-lugha* of al-Azharī (d. 370), the

Balādhurī.(449)

Two final points must be mentioned. First, the lexicographers understand *ju'l* as a phenomenon which occurs mostly (though not uniquely) in the hadīth.(450) Second, the *ju'l* described by the lexicographers, in all its variations, does not correspond to the situation described in the *Futūḥ al-buldān*. The soldiers in Malaṭya are more or less permanently stationed there, and receive other (apparently permanent) forms of income, aside from their *ju'l*. It seems strange, if not impossible, that soldiers who are paid *'aṭā'* should also receive *ju'l* as we have seen it defined--that is, if the lexicographers' definitions have anything to do with what actually went on in the early 'Abbāsid period.

4.1.2 Individual and Community

From the dictionaries we may now identify a theme which will remain important throughout this chapter.

In the various kinds of sources which deal with this question, we may detect a constant tension between two rival views of *ju'l*. The first of these may be called the "individual" view. Here *ju'l* is understood as a one-to-one procedure: I am called up, and pay you to take my place. Discussion comes to focus on questions of individual conduct and merit, and in particular the theological question of which of us will receive the reward which God has promised to fighters and martyrs.

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lexicographical works cited here are late. The subject of *ju'l* does not occur in the *Gharīb al-hadīth* of Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām (d. 224). The similarly-titled books of Dāraquṭnī (d. 385, see Sezgin, GAS, I, 298) and Khaṭṭābī (d. 288, see GAS, I 211) are not available.

(450) Ibn al-Athir, *Nihāya*, I, 276; Zamakhsharī, *Fā'iq*, I, 198; *Lisān* and *Tāj al-'arūs*, s.v.

The second, "communal" view involves groups such as tribes or even the entire *umma*. A group may be held jointly responsible for furnishing a certain number of soldiers equipped for battle. *Ju`l* is somehow distributed among or within such groups. Elsewhere we find a more extreme version of this "communal" view. In some authors (notably al-Shāfi`ī) the Imâm enters the picture. Considerations of a different sort arise, involving the raising and maintenance of armies and the guarding of the frontiers (*sadd aṭrāf al-Muslimīn bi'l-rijāl*). Here attention focusses on the welfare of the entire Muslim community, rather than on the religious merit achieved by individuals. *Ju`l* comes to mean wages which the government pays to soldiers.

These do not represent separate schools of thought, but rather poles of opinion. Most of the views which we shall see expressed in this chapter represent combinations of views which may be derived from these two extreme positions. Some of these "hybrids" are constructed with artful equivocation. But this theme of tension between the individual and the communal views of *ju`l* provides us with our first and most useful means of organizing this somewhat bewildering material.

4.2 Poetry

4.2.1 Shaqīq al-Asadī

In their sections on *ju`l*, the *Lisān al-`Arab* and the *Tāj al-`arūs* both cite a line of verse ascribed by the former to "al-Asadī," by the latter to "al-Sulayk ibn Shaqīq al-Asadī."

> *fa-a`ṭaytu 'l-ji`ālata mustamītan*
> *khafīfa 'l-ḥādhi min fityāni jarmi[n]*
>
> So I gave the *ji`āla* to one who bravely sought death,
> an ardent warrior, one not weighed down [by property
> and family].

This line occurs in the following poem in the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, where it is ascribed (by the commentator al-Tibrīzī) to one "Shaqīq ibn Sulayk al-Asadī."

Atānī ʿan Abī Anasin waʿīdun
fa-sulla li-ghayẓati 'l-Ḍaḥḥāki jismī

wa-lam aʿṣi 'l-amīra wa-lam aribhu
wa-lam asbiq Abā Anasin bi-waghmi

wa-lākinna 'l-buʿūtha jarat ʿalaynā
fa-ṣirnā bayna taṭwīḥin wa-ghurmi

wa-khāfat min jibāli 'l-Ṣughdi nafsī
wa-khāfat min jibāli Khuwārazmi

wa-qāraʿtu 'l-buʿūtha wa-qāraʿūnī
fa-fāza bi-ḍajʿatin fī 'l-ḥayyi sahmī

fa-aʿṭaytu 'l-jiʿālata mustamītan
khafīfa 'l-ḥādhi min fityāni jarmi

I received a threat from Abū Anas,
and my flesh was consumed by the anger of al-Ḍaḥḥāk.(451)

I did not disobey the amīr, I gave him no cause
to doubt, and I began no strife with Abū Anas.

But the call to arms had reached us, and we found ourselves caught
between far-away [destruction] and the payment of fines.

And my soul was afraid of the mountains
of Soghd and of Khwarazm.

So I cast lots with those who had been called up,
and won as my lot [the right] to lie about at home.

And I gave the *jiʿāla* to one who bravely sought death,
an ardent warrior, one not weighed down.(452)

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(451) Abū Anas is the same person as al-Ḍaḥḥāq (ibn Qays al-Fihrī).

(452) Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa* (ed. Amīn and Hārūn), II, 777-780 (this version followed here); (ed. Freytag), I, 363-364; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, III, 474.

(453) The references at Fischer and Bräunlich, *Schawāhid-Indices*, pp. 50, 239, do not help to identify him. Tibrīzī is the only source who gives

Shaqīq ibn Suleyk al-Asadī is an obscure figure.(453) However, this short poem dates and places itself: we know that al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Qays al-Fihrī, one of Mu`āwiya's most trusted commanders, served as governor in Kufa from 55 until 58.(454)

We seem therefore to have here an authentic reference to *ja`ā'il* in the early Umayyad period. However, what this means here is far from clear. Nowhere else have I found reference to casting lots in connection with *ja`ā'il*. In addition, there is ambiguity around the term *ji`āla* itself. This seems like a one-to-one procedure, much as we found in the dictionaries. However, Tibrīzī in his commentary described *ji`āla* as (the poet's) military pay, received from the Umayyad government (*al-`aṭā' alladhī yaqtaḍīhi min al-sulṭān*).(455) If this were so, then the poet would merely have turned over his "pay" to the man who replaced him. However, *ji`ala* could very well have the more specialized sense of "substitute money" here. In any case, the tone of this piece is light, and its inclusion at the end of the *bāb al-ḥamāsa* seems intended as a joke.(456)

Ibn Manẓūr in the *Lisān* cites a variant of the first hemistich of this verse:

sa-yakfīka 'l-ji`ālata mustamītun...

One who seeks death bravely, etc., will take your

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us this name: Marzūqī says merely *wa-qāla ākharu*, while Yāqūt has only "al-Asadī," as does the *Lisān al-`Arab*.

(454) Ṭabarī, II, 170, 172, 177, 180, 181; Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom*, p. 130. The commentators are unanimous in saying that this is the Ḍaḥḥāk in question. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Qays was later killed at Marj Rāhiṭ, where he led forces loyal to Ibn Zubayr.

(455) Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa* (ed. Freytag), p. 364.

(456) This is the opinion of Marzūqī. See the Amīn-Hārūn edition of *Ḥamāsa*, II, 777.

place [in exchange for] the *ji`āla.*

His authority for this variant reading is Ibn Barrī (`Abdallāh ibn Barrī ibn `Abd al-Jabbār al-Miṣrī al-Qudsī, d. 582), an Egyptian chancery official who moved to Jerusalem, and who was responsible for the correctness of the Arabic of state documents.(457) Ibn Barrī's glosses on the *Qāmūs* were one of Ibn Manẓūr's sources for the *Lisān*.(458) This version may seem clearer.(459) However, we know that Ibn Barrī, who wrote commentaries on grammatical and *adab* works, also liked to compose verses to illustrate the meanings of obscure words.(460) In this case, he may perhaps have "corrected" an older verse to demonstrate the meaning and usage of *ji`āla*--centuries after this word had gone out of use.

The identity of Shaqīq ibn Sulayk al-Asadī remains something of a mystery. Confusion with the *jāhilī* poet al-Sulayk ibn al-Sulaka seems unlikely.(461) However, Shaqīq does seem to appear in one other place. In the *Muṣannaf* of `Abd al-Razzāq,(462) questions concerning *ja`ā'il* are put to Ibn `Umar and

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(457) Brockelmann, GAL, I, 365 [301-302], SI, 529; Sezgin, GAS, IX, 317; Ziriklī, *A`lām*, IV, 73-74.

(458) J. W. Fück, "Ibn Manẓūr," EI2, III, 864.

(459) It must have appeared so to Marsafī, who cited only this version of the line, *Rawḍa*, VII, 194.

(460) Brockelmann (GAL, I, 362 [302]) cites a Berlin manuscript (7068) containing "verses on the various meanings of the word *al-khāl*."

(461) Al-Sulayk ibn `Umayr al-Sa`dī, called Ibn al-Sulaka (or Ibn al-Salaka) after his mother, was well-known as one of *al-shu`arā' al-ṣa`ālīk*. Abū l-Faraj, *Aghānī*, IV, 101; VII, 150; XIV, 28; XVIII, 133-138; Ibn Qutayba, *Al-Shi`r wa'l-shu`arā'*, pp. 213-217; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-muḥabbar* (Hyderabad 1946, repr. Beirut 196?), pp. 307-308; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ* (Cairo 1965), p. 120; Amidī, *Al-Mu'talif wa'l-mukhtalif* (Cairo 1961), pp. 202-203; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa* (ed. Cheikho, Beirut 1910), pp. 127-128, #641; Sezgin, GAS, II, 139-140.

(462) V, 130, #9460; also at Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, V, 346; Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, IX, 27. See below, 4.5.2.1.

Ibn Zubayr by a man named Shaqīq ibn `Īzār al-Asadī. No dates are known for this man; Ibn Abī Ḥātim apparently knows of him only from this tradition.(463) Here we have nothing more than an obscure figure of the *tābi`ī* generation, associated with *ja`ā'il*. But this person would have been alive during the reign of Mu`āwiya. This fact, together with the association with this rather unusual subject, makes it likely that we have here one and the same Shaqīq.

4.2.2 *`Īsā ibn Fātik*

The word *ja`ā'il* appears in another poem dating from the days of Mu`āwiya. This one describes how forty Khārijīs led by Mirdās ibn Udayya routed a force of 2000 horsemen sent against them by Mu`āwiya's governor in Iraq, `Ubaydallāh ibn Ziyād (successor of al-Ḍaḥḥāk) in or after the year 58, in a place in Fārs called Āsak.(464) Authorship is attributed to one `Īsā ibn Fātik of the Banū Taym al-Lāt [ibn Tha`laba].(465)

Mubarrad elsewhere quotes a Khārijī poet named `Īsā ibn Fātik al-Ḥabaṭī.(466) This must be the same man. Despite the confusion over his *nisba*, it appears most likely that the correct form was "al-Khaṭṭī," from al-Khaṭṭ in Oman, famous for its spears.(467)

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(463) *Al-Jarḥ wa'l-ta`dīl*, II, i, 372, #1616.

(464) Nöldeke, *Delectus*, p. 90; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, p. 588; Ṭabarī, II, 187 (omitting the beginning of the text given by Mubarrad); Yāqūt, *Mu`jam al-buldān*, I, 62; Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, p. 279 (where the date of 80 is impossible).

(465) Mubarrad, p. 588. Ṭabarī only says *fa-qāla rajul min Banī Taym Allāh ibn Tha`laba*. Dīnawarī is even less helpful, saying *fa-ansha'a rajul min al-khawārij*. Yāqūt (ed. Wüstenfeld) gives the *nisba* "al-Ḥazzī" (see below).

(466) Mubarrad, p. 590.

(467) Yāqūt, *Mu`jam al-buldān*, II, 453-454, says that `Īsā ibn Fātik the Khārijī took his *nisba* from that place. "Al-Ḥazzī" (Yāqūt, I, 62, see

There were two important tribal groups known as Taym Allāh ibn Tha`laba or (more authentically) Taym al-Lāt ibn Tha`laba. The better known of these two was northern, part of the Rabī`a grouping (Bakr ibn Wā'il).(468) The lesser-known one, Taym Allāh ibn Tha`laba ibn `Amr, was southern, with partly Ḥimyarite origins.(469) `Īsā ibn Fātik, with his Omani *nisba*, may have belonged to this latter group.

The relevant lines of this poem are as follows:

fa-lammā aṣbaḥū ṣallaw wa-qāmū
ilā 'l-jurudi 'l-`itāqi musawwamīnā

fa-lammā 'stajma`ū ḥamalū `alayhim
fa-ẓalla dhawū 'l-ja`ā'ili yuqtalūnā

baqiyyata yawmihim ḥattā atāhum
sawādu 'l-layli fīhi yurāwighūnā

And in the morning they prayed, and turned to
The short-haired fine [steeds], marked [for battle];

And when they had gathered, they charged against them,
And the owners of ja`ā'il were killed

All through the rest of the day, until the black of night
Came to them, allowing them [deceitfully] to slip away.

Mubarrad does not comment on the word *ja`ā'il* here.(470) It is, however, clearly a term of contempt, as Nöldeke wrote: "[The poet] contemptuously applies the term 'mercenaries' to soldiers who, unlike [the Khārijīs] themselves, do not fight solely to serve God."(471)

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above) is easily explained by the misplacing of a point. See Fischer and Bräunlich, *Schawāhid-Indices*, pp. 155, 156, 303; Marsafī, *Rawda*, VII, 195-196.

(468) Caskel, I, #141; Levi della Vida, EI1, IV, 623.

(469) Caskel, I, #185; II, 543.

(470) Ṭabarī does not include this part of the poem.

We know nothing about the 2000 Basran horsemen who were put to flight by the forty Khārijīs, except that their commander was Ma'bad ibn Aslam al-Kilābī.(472) However, the Khārijī leader Mirdās did stress correct Islamic behavior in fiscal matters during his revolt. We see this in the incident which triggered off the battle at Āsak, which went as follows:

> Money which was being transported to Ibn Ziyād fell into [Mirdās'] possession. He brought together his forty companions and divided up the money, taking his own *'aṭā'* and the *a'ṭiyāt* of his companions. He then returned the remaining amount to the messengers, saying, "Tell your master that we have taken our *a'ṭiyāt*." One of his companions then said, "Why are we letting the rest of the money go?" He answered, "They divide up the *fay'*, just as they perform prayer. Don't fight them."(473)

Ibn Ziyād did not appreciate this gesture, and sent out the ill-fated 2000 horsemen. But we again see Mirdās' idea of correct behavior (sunna) in the matter of the *fay'* (that is, not to allow a government or a governor to control it) in his speech to his fellow-Khārijīs before the battle. Ma'bad, he said, was a libertine, a subverter (*fāsid*) who, among other things, had arrogated the *fay'* to himself.(474)

In our poem, 'Īsā ibn Fātik taunts Ibn Ziyād's soldiers by calling them receivers of *ja'ā'il*. This seems to imply that they are mercenaries--though this would not necessarily be the way anyone other than the Khārijīs would describe them. The word *ja'ā'il* here corresponds to the way it was usually (later) understood (that is, as a one-to-one transaction) only in the broadest sense; it seems in fact to connote soldiers' wages paid by the govern-

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(471) *Delectus*, p. 90, n. 1.

(472) Ṭabarī has Ibn Ḥism al-Tamīmī.

(473) Mubarrad, p. 588. Yāqūt's version (I, 62) is somewhat clearer: "His companions asked, "Why are you letting them have the rest?" (*'alāmā tufriju 'an al-bāqī?*) He answered, "They pray, and I do not cause distress to those who pray to the *qibla*."

(474) Mubarrad, p. 588, ll. 1-2, *wa-yakhuṣṣu bi'l-fay'*.

ment.

But here, in any case, *ja`ā'il* are *not* for soldiers who are paid in the correct Islamic fashion, that is, for those who receive *`aṭā'*.

From these two poems, dating from the reign of Mu`āwiya, we may already detect both an "individual" and a "communal" or "governmental" sense of the terms *ju`l* and *ja`ā'il*. The one-to-one procedure is already in existence (though its workings are obscure); but the needs of the government are also making themselves felt.

4.3 *Qur'ān*

The words *ju`l, ji`āla, ja`ā'il* do not occur in the Qur'ān. Accordingly, the jurists who discussed this subject had to base their arguments upon sunna and whatever other sources they recognized. There are, however, several passages in the Qur'ān (most of them in the *Sūrat al-tawba*) which express, or have been thought to express, some of the most basic principles.

4.3.1 *Al-Jihād bi'l-Māl*

The believers are repeatedly enjoined to strive in the path of God with both their wealth (*amwāl*) and their lives (*anfus*).(475) This is often considered the most fundamental of Qur'ānic principles pertaining to *ju`l*.(476) God has bought their wealth and their lives from them in exchange for Paradise: this transaction is effected by their fighting, killing, and being killed in the path of God, and is a binding pledge made in the Torah, the Gospel, and the

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(475) 4:49, 8:72, 9:20, 41, 44, 81, 88, 49:15.

(476) Shāfi`ī, *Umm*, IV, 85. For Sarakhsī, the Qur'ānic prooftext for *ju`l* is 22:78, *wa-jāhidū fī 'llāhi ḥaqqa jihādihi*, which means, says Sarakhsī, "performing jihād with one's wealth and one's life." *Sharḥ al-siyar al-kabīr*, I, 138.

Qur'ān.(477) It is not difficult to see what this means in terms of the believers' lives, which they exchange for Paradise when they die in battle. But what precisely does it mean for them to exchange their *amwāl* for a divine reward? The tafsīr on these passages does not clarify this point.

4.3.1.1 Fī sabīl Allāh

Elsewhere in the *Sūrat al-tawba,* God inveighs against certain persons who heap up treasure without spending it *fī sabīl Allāh*.(478) The *ahl al-ta'wīl* differ on the meaning of "treasure" (*kanz*), but all agree that the fault in question consists of the failure to pay *zakāt*.(479) But does the phrase *fī sabīl Allāh* here necessarily refer to war? In the passages already mentioned, which command the believers to fight with their wealth and their lives, the phrase clearly has this meaning. But in this instance (9:34), where the verb *jāhada* does not appear, does paying zakāt mean making a contribution to the war effort?

In Ṭabarī's *Jāmi` al-bayān* and elsewhere, the phrase *fī sabīl Allāh* is understood as referring to the jihād in every case. However, not all the *mufassirūn* interpret the phrase this way every time. Bayḍāwī, in his commentary on this same passage, glosses *fī sabīl Allāh* as *[fī] dīnihi*.(480) In another passage, contributions made *fī sabīl Allāh* can mean, according to Bayḍāwī, either 1) money, weapons, and mounts for the *muṭṭawwi`a*, or 2) "for building bridges and reservoirs" (*maṣāni`*).(481) We thus have variant opin-

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(477) 9:111.

(478) 9:34.

(479) Muqātil ibn Sulaymān, *Tafsīr al-khamsmi'at aya*, p. 52; Ṭabarī, *Jāmi` al-bayān*, X, 118-120; *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn, p. 253.*

(480) Bayḍāwī, I, 485, l. 6.

(481) Bayḍāwī, I, 391, ll. 9-10, commenting on Qur'ān 9:60. Ṭabarī (*Jāmi`*,

ions on the meaning of this phrase at a late stage. But in some of the earliest tafsīr, the interpretation of this phrase does not necessarily refer to holy war. In early tafsīr works in the tradition of Ibn ʿAbbās, *fī sabīl Allāh* is interpreted consistently and throughout with the equally ambiguous phrase *fī ṭāʿat Allāh*.(482) On the other hand, in the *ʿahd al-umma*, the phrase *fī sabīl Allāh* refers clearly and unambiguously to warfare.(483)

We find an analogous situation with regard to the obscure verse 9:122, where the verb *nafara* has always been understood as a reference to warfare. R. Paret has shown, however, that *nafara* should be understood in a more neutral sense, and that the verse does not refer to setting out for war.(484)

A similar problem occurs in two consecutive verses of the *Sūrat al-baqara*.(485) The first of these, "He that gives his wealth for the cause of Allah (*fī sabīl Allāh*) is like a grain of corn which brings forth seven ears each bearing a hundred grains," is interpreted by Ṭabarī (following the isnād of Yūnus--Ibn Wahb--Ibn Zayd) as referring to "those who spend their wealth

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X, 165) does not make this distinction: here *fī sabīl Allāh* refers to warfare.

(482) Muqātil, *Tafsīr al-khamsmiʾat āya*, p. 52 (on 9:34), and *passim*. Fīrūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-iqtibās ʿan tafsīr Ibn ʿAbbās* (known as the tafsīr of al-Kalbī, d. 146, GAS, I, 34-35), p. 142 (Qurʾān 9:34, *yasuddūna ʿan sabīl Allāh*, is interpreted as *ʿan dīn Allāh wa-ṭāʿatihi*).

(483) *Wa-lā yusālimu muʾminun dūna muʾminin fī qitālin fī sabīli ʾllāhi*. Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām, *Kitāb al-amwāl*, p. 292; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, p. 342. Serjeant renders this as "No *Muʾmin* will make peace to the exclusion of [or separately from] a *Muʾmin* fighting in the path of Allāh. *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, ed. Beeston et al., p. 136. See also Serjeant, "The Constitution of Medina," *Islamic Quarterly*, VIII (1964), p. 12.

(484) "Sure 9,122 und die Ǧihad," *Die Welt des Islams*, N.S., II (1953), pp. 232-236.

(485) 2:261-262.

on themselves in fighting God's enemies with their lives and their wealth."(486) Note that it is only the tafsīr, and its understanding of the phrase *fī sabīl Allāh*, which makes this verse a basis for *al-jihād bi'l-māl*.

The following verse (2:262), "Those that give their wealth for the cause of God and do not follow their almsgiving with taunts and insults shall be rewarded by their Lord" (*thumma lā yutbi`ūna mā anfaqū mannan wa-lā adhān lahum ajruhum `inda rabbihim*) has been interpreted as nearly providing a basis for *ja`ā'il*. For Ṭabarī (again following Yūnus--Ibn Wahb--Ibn Zayd), this verse refers to "the one who gives his money to those who strive in the path of God, as help to them (*ma`ūnatan lahum*) in the path of God." Such a giver provides money, mounts, and other forms of aid (*mu'na*). The point of the verse, says Ṭabarī (and the *ahl al-ta'wīl* whom he follows here) is that the giver receives his reward (*ajr*), regardless of what actually becomes of his contribution. Ṭabarī here does not use the word *ju`l* or its derivatives, but nonetheless makes a pronouncement on the issue which resembles that of Shāfi`ī (below, 4.4.4.3). Here we have Ṭabarī speaking as the founder of a *madhhab*, as much as the author of tafsīr.

> It is not a (personal) obligation between them, which would oblige the giver to ensure that it was correctly carried out. He spends the money out of a desire for a reward from God, and so as to please God; God must reward him regardless of the one on whom he spent it.(487)

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(486) Ṭabarī, *Jāmi`*, III, 61. The giver gets back his gift seven hundred times.

(487) *Jāmi`*, III, 62-63.

4.3.1.2 *Ṣadaqa*

These two verses are part of a long section (2:261-281) on the *ṣadaqa*. God's instructions in this section are not by any means limited to providing for the warriors--and we have seen that it is only the interpretation which insists on this point at all. Thus, something in the Qur'ān which the tafsīr describes as *juʿl* in everything but the name, occurs in a section on *ṣadaqa*. We have already seen a similar situation in the case of *zakāt*.(488) Whether purely voluntary almsgiving (*ṣadaqat al-taṭawwuʿ*) or the involuntary poor-rate is the subject of these Qur'ānic verses, is beyond the scope of this chapter.(489) In the Qur'ānic verse which lists the recipients of alms, a portion is reserved *fī sabīl Allāh*.(490) Thus, in all the Qur'ānic passages which have been interpreted as calling for something like *jaʿā'il*, there are grounds to identify the practice either as a voluntary (charitable) donation from one individual to another, or as money or supplies originating in the state treasury. The individual and communal views of *juʿl* (above, 4.1.2) both have Qur'ānic counterparts.

4.3.1.3 *Al-Jaṣṣāṣ*

In his *Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, the Ḥanafī jurist al-Jaṣṣāṣ discusses the requirement of performing jihād with one's wealth and one's life. A man who is healthy but poor should perform jihād "after he has found sufficient means."(491)

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(488) 9:34; above, 4.3.1.1.

(489) The same ambiguity exists for the term *zakāt*: Schacht, "Zakāt," EI1, IV, 1202-1204. At 9:34 (see previous section), Ṭabarī and the *ahl al-ta'wīl* whom he cites do not qualify what they mean by *zakāt*. However, it must be the second (government-sponsored) variety, since no one can be obligated to make a voluntary payment.

(490) 9:60. The phrase remains ambiguous.

(491) Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, III, 117, l. 13.

One who is sick should perform *al-jihād bi'l-māl* by giving money to another man who will go to war (Jaṣṣāṣ does not specifically say "in his place").(492) Elsewhere, Jaṣṣāṣ names two varieties of *al-jihād bi'l-māl*. The first is spending money on weapons, mounts, provisions, and the like for one's self. The second is spending one's money on others who perform jihād.(493)

Jaṣṣāṣ' two categories correspond to those made by Ṭabarī in his interpretation of Qur'ān 2:261-262 (see above, 4.3.1.1). Like Ṭabarī, Jaṣṣāṣ does not use the words *ju'l* and *ja`ā'il*, and cites none of the relevant ḥadīth. In addition, he does not mention whether this money given as *al-jihād bi'l-māl* comes under the heading of *ṣadaqa* or *zakāt*.

4.3.1.4 Iḥdā 'l-ḥusnayayni

The question of what is the reward for *al-jihād bi'l-māl* remains unresolved. We find some of this ambiguity reflected in the tafsīr on the phrase *iḥdā 'l-ḥusnayayni* ("one of the two best things," 9:52), which is generally interpreted as referring to 1) victory in war and 2) Paradise.(494) The first of these is the difficult one: Ṭabarī(495) defined it as *al-ajr wa'l-ghanīma wa'l-silāḥ*--plunder *plus* some undefined reward which implies divine favor (and is therefore more than worldly). Similarly, Ṭabarī does not say what the return is to be from one's contribution to the war effort--he only says, following Qur'ān 2:261, that the giver receives it back 700 times.(496) Here

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(492) III, 117, l. 12.

(493) III, 118, ll. 27-28. *Wa'l-thānī infāq al-māl `alā ghayrihi mimmā* (read *mimman*) *yujāhidu wa-ma`ūnatuhu bi'l-zād wa'l-`udda*.

(494) See Shāfi`ī, *Umm*, IV, 92.

(495) *Jāmi`*, X, 150.

(496) *Jāmi`*, III, 61.

we have the ambiguity of the word *ajr* which figures prominently in much of the hadīth (see below, 4.5.3.2-3).

4.3.2 Takhalluf

Much of the *Sūrat al-tawba* is devoted to invective against members of the community who dodge their obligation to fight the enemies of God. They are called *qā`idūn* and *mukhallafūn*, and are subjected to snide remarks in this life(497) and to more lasting forms of punishment in the next.(498) The nomads have the same obligations in this respect as do the townsfolk.(499) However, some people have legitimate excuses.

> It shall be no offence for the weak, the sick, and those who lack the means to contribute to the war, to stay behind, if they are true to Allah and His apostle....Nor shall those be blamed who, when they came to you demanding conveyances to the battle-front and you could find none to carry them, went away in tears grieving that they could take no part.(500)

There are thus three classes of *mukhallafūn*,(501) the weak (usually glossed as the old), the sick, and those who are too poor. From this we may infer that an able-bodied warrior must pay his own way to the battlefield; if he cannot do this, and if no one else will pay for him, then he is free of blame. The Prophet, furthermore, was under no obligation to help such peo-

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(497) 9:46.

(498) 9:35, 39.

(499) 9:90, 120-121.

(500) 9:91-92 (Dawood translation, with minor changes). *laysa `alā 'l-ḍu`afā'i wa-lā `alā 'l-marḍā wa-lā `alā 'lladhīna lā yajidūna mā yunfiqūna ḥarajun idhā naṣaḥū 'llāha wa-rasūlahu....Wa-lā `alā 'lladhīna idhā mā atawka li-taḥmilahum qulta lā ajidu mā aḥmilukum `alayhi tawallaw wa-a`yunuhum tafīḍu min al-dam`i ḥazanan allā yajidūna mā yunfiqūna.* The peculiar use of the verbs *wajada* and *ḥamala* in these verses becomes a constant feature in legal discussions of *ju`l* and related matters. See Shāfi`ī, *Umm*, IV, 85f.; below, 4.4.4.1-4.

(501) Cf. 9:81, 48:11, 15.

ple.(502) At the same time, the practice of providing mounts(503) seems to be known in the Qur'ān, and considered acceptable, though not obligatory. This practice, known as *ḥumlān*, appears both in law books and in ḥadīth (see following section).

The only addition to our understanding of these two verses which we gain from the tafsīr is in the area of *asbāb al-nuzūl*. This particular piece of divine guidance is said originally to have been required à propos of several different would-be warriors.(504) There are different traditions on who these men were. These details seem insignificant; what stands out is that Ibn `Abbās and his followers show the greatest interest in the matter, and that their views prevail.(505) It is again Ibn `Abbās who, more than any other figure, shows an interest in this issue of *takhalluf* when it appears in the ḥadīth.

4.4 The Jurists

The Qur'ān thus provides little more than general principles affecting *ja`ā'il*, and the lawyers have had to rely on the ḥadīth. Unfortunately, this ḥadīth became entangled in its own branches and offshoots. If we are to find a path through this small forest, we must begin by mapping out the positions of the various *madhāhib*. The following pages will set out the positions

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(502) All this is clearly stated by Shāfi`ī, *Umm*, IV, 86, 90.

(503) *An taḥmilahum*. These would be needed in the war itself, as well as in traveling to it (Dawood's translation is therefore incomplete).

(504) "And when God saw their zeal in their love of him and of His Messenger, he revealed their *`udhr* ('excuse') in His Book." Ṭabarī, *Jāmi`*, X, 211.

(505) Fīrūzābādī, *Tanwīr al-iqtibās*, p. 149; Mujāhid, *Tafsīr*, p. 286; Ṭabarī, *Jāmi`*, X, 211-212 (Mujāhid's view wins out); Suyūṭī, *Lubāb*, printed at bottom of *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, p. 277. Cf. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 993-994.

ascribed to the founding figures of the various schools.

Several different aspects of the problem must be kept in mind.

1) *Ju'l*--as defined so far, especially in the dictionaries (above, 4.1.1). This is most often construed as a transaction between two individuals, but also occurs between two groups, or else between an individual (the Imām) and a group.

2) Donations and *ḥumlān*. The early jurists discuss gifts or donations given to those setting out *fī sabīl Allāh*. These differ from *ju'l* in that they involve no *quid pro quo* (no *ajr* in exchange for *manfa'a*). Furthermore, the early legal discussions of this issue show no awareness or concern with that of *ju'l*. The jurists discuss problems such as when these gifts become the property of the recipient, and how he may dispose of them.(506) Closely related to these donations is the subject of *ḥumlān* (see Qur'ān 9:92, and above, 4.3.2). This consists of horses or camels which one gives to the *ghāzī* as he sets out. Again, there is no *quid pro quo*.

3) The *ajīr*. In much of the ḥadīth (and in particular the prophetic ḥadīth) on this subject, a man who receives *ju'l* is called an *ajīr* ("hireling"). Traditions seem to be used as weapons by both sides in a debate over whether or not such a person receives an *ajr* ("reward, compensation") in addition to, or taking the place of, the *ju'l* which he has been paid. Statements on the validity of the practice of *ju'l* thus tend to focus on the status of the *ajīr* (=recipient of *ju'l*) in this life and/or the next.

However, in many of the earliest legal texts, the word *ajīr* refers to another kind of person. When the jurists discuss the division of spoils (*qasm al-ghanīma*), they name the categories of persons who, after participating in a battle, a) are entitled to full shares of the spoils, or b) receive

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(506) Cf. Ṭabarī, *Jāmi'*, III, 62-63.

only *radkh* ("discretionary payments"), or c) receive nothing at all. The categories of persons discussed include women, minors, slaves, merchants, *dhimmīs*, and *ajīrs*. Here the word *ajīr* means a person hired by an individual to act as a personal servant--but *not* specifically to fight--or a camp follower performing similar service for the army.(507)

The word *ajīr* has thus acquired two distinct uses, both of which can be found in the jurists' writings and in the ḥadīth itself.(508) This fact has contributed to the general confusion. To make matters worse, some of the early jurists also refer to the possibility of a group (*qawm*) of non-Muslims fighting with the Muslims in exchange for pay, and call such persons *musta'jarūn*.(509) This practice actually belongs under the rubric of *ju'l*, even if it is not described as such.

4) *Takhalluf*. The Qur'ānic principle of legitimate excuses for not performing jihād (above, 4.3.2) was thought to provide a basis for the practice of *takhalluf*. In the ḥadīth, this comes to mean that a group is held responsible for providing fully equipped warriors (this group may consist of the entire *umma*). This large group is then subdivided into many small groups of four, five, ten, or whatever, each of which must provide out of its own number one or more soldiers fully equipped. Those who remain at home are called *qā'idūn* or *mukhallafūn* or *mutakhallifūn*.(510) In this particular strand of

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(507) This will become clear in the following sections, particularly the ones devoted to Awzā'ī, Mālik, and the Ḥanafīs. At Wāqidī, III, 1012, *ajīr* appears in the sense of "hireling."

(508) It need not be the case that one of these preceded the other, though there might be reason to believe that the sense of "hireling, camp follower" is the older of the two. Both uses occur (and overlap) in the ḥadīth.

(509) For Awzā'ī, *musta'jar* has the same meaning as *ajīr* ("hired servant").

(510) In the *Sūrat al-tawba*, those who avoid military service and remain at home are called *mukhallafūn*, see above, 4.3.2.

tradition, we never see the word *ju`l*, and the two notions do not quite fit together. Nonetheless, *takhalluf* must logically be included in a discussion of *ju`l*--and was usually so understood by the jurists.

4.4.1 Awzā`ī

It would seem reasonable to suppose that from al-Awzā`ī, the imām of the *thughūr*, we might learn what was meant by *ju`l* in the *thaghr* of Malaṭya, during Awzā`ī's own lifetime. However, Awzā`ī tells us nothing of the sort, at least in the meagre fragments available to us. We have no statement from him on the subject of *ju`l*, not even in Abū Yūsuf's *Kitāb al-radd `alā siyar al-Awzā`ī*.

4.4.1.1 The ajīr

In the *Kitāb al-radd*, Awzā`ī's views on whether shares are allotted to women, *dhimmīs*, minors who fight with the Muslims, and *mushriks* who convert and join the Muslims in the *dār al-harb*, are set out for us,(511) if only to be refuted by the Ḥanafīs. For some reason, the *ajīr* does not appear in this list. In later sources, however, we find a maxim attributed to Awzā`ī: *al-musta'jaru `alā khidmati 'l-qawmi lā sahma lahu* ("One who has been hired to serve the army receives no share").(512) This position is well attested, and its formulation as a maxim speaks well for its antiquity.(513) *Musta'jar* here means *ajīr* in the "archaic" sense in which it appears in other early jurists.(514)

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(511) They all receive shares. *Al-Radd*, pp. 37-45; *Umm*, VII, 311-315.

(512) Khaṭṭābī, *Ma`ālim al-sunan*, quoted by `Azīmābādī, *`Awn al-ma`būd*, VII, 201, n.; Ibn Qudāma, *Mughnī*, IX, 304, ll. 7-8.

(513) Schacht, *Origins*, pp. 180-189.

(514) Ibn Ḥazm summed up Awzā`ī's position as *lā yushamu lil-ajīr* ("the hireling receives no share"). *Muḥallā*, VII, 333, ll. 12-13.

Awzā'ī's opinions, according to Schacht, "represent the oldest solutions adopted by Muhammadan jurisprudence."(515) Here we have a simple principle--camp followers receive no share of the booty--without the qualifications made by Mālik and the Iraqis.

4.4.2 *Mālik*

4.4.2.1 *Donations*

In the *Muwaṭṭa'* we have a tradition stating that whenever ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿUmar gave something *fī sabīl Allāh*, he would say to the recipient: "It is yours once you reach Wādī 'l-Qurā."(516) Another tradition of Saʿīd ibn al-Musayyib has the same text, substituting *ra's maghzātihi* for Wādī 'l-Qurā.(517) Zurqānī explains that this was out of fear that the giver would come out to reclaim the gift. Both traditions also occur in the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Shaybānī.(518)

4.4.2.2 *Juʿl*

In the *Mudawwana*,(519) Mālik states his strong opposition to the practice of a man "fighting on condition that he receive *juʿl*." One should not "shed his own blood in exchange for such a thing." Mālik recognizes two forms of remuneration for warriors: 1) shares of the spoils, which the Prophet used to distribute only after the fighting had subsided, and 2) the armor, etc.,

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(515) *Origins*, p. 288.

(516) Zurqānī, *Sharḥ*, III, 294. Ibn ʿUmar--Nāfiʿ--Mālik. Cf. Wāqidī, III, 1006.

(517) Zurqānī, *loc. cit.*

(518) Shaybānī, *Muwaṭṭa'*, p. 308, where Abū Ḥanīfa rules that the gift belongs to the recipient once he has received it. This point is made in the ḥadīth (see below, 4.5.3.4).

(519) III, 31.

of an enemy soldier whom one has killed, if one's claim is clear and uncontested (*in kāna lahu bayyinatun*).(520) For this we have, says Mālik, "an excellent model (*uswa ḥasana*) in the Messenger of God; how could anyone contradict what he stated and enacted as sunna" (*mā qāla wa-sanna*)? As for the practice of *ju'l*, Mālik has nothing to cause him to believe that the Prophet ever established it as customary after Ḥunayn. And if in fact he did so, then this "was an established matter mentioned by no one."(521) Furthermore, Mālik states that he has no indication that Abū Bakr or 'Umar ever established this practice or made use of it.

What is most surprising about this passage is Mālik's assertion that the Prophet set down no rules regarding *ja'ā'il*. As will be seen in the following sections, we have a number of traditions in *al-kutub al-sitta* and other sources which trace this practice back to the Prophet.

4.4.2.3 The ajīr

Concerning *al-ajīr fī 'l-ghazw*, Mālik's position is:

> If he has witnessed (*shahida*) the fighting, and was with [the army] as they fought, and if he is free, then he receives his share. Otherwise, he receives none. And I [Yaḥyā] heard Mālik say: It is my opinion (*wa-arā*) that shares should be allotted only to free persons who witness the fighting.(522)

Ajīr here means a person hired for some purpose other than fighting. For if it meant a recipient of *ju'l*, then the question of whether or not he took part in the fighting would hardly arise.(523) Furthermore, in this passage

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(520) Cf. Wāqidī, III, 908-909. Spoils of a single enemy (*salab*) appear in most of the great ḥadīth collections.

(521) *Kāna dhālika amran thābitan laysa fīhi qawlun.*

(522) Zurqānī, *Sharḥ*, III, 297.

(523) Zurqānī seems to fall between the two senses of *ajīr*, with his gloss *naḥwa 'l-ḥirāsa* ("for something like guard duty").

of the *Muwaṭṭa'*, it is implicitly possible for the *ajīr* to be a slave; whereas according to Mālik, the duty to perform jihād is not incumbent upon a slave, and no share of the spoils is allotted to him.(524)

Some later jurists were aware of Mālik's condemnation of *ju'l*.(525) However, this passage in the *Muwaṭṭa'* was apparently better known.(526)

4.4.3 The Ḥanafīs

It is not until Sarakhsī (d. 483) that we find a comprehensive Ḥanafī theory of *ju'l*.(527) For reconstructing the early doctrine of the school, the material is somewhat meagre.(528)

4.4.3.1 Ju'l

According to Sarakhsī, Abū Ḥanīfa's position was as follows. He disapproved of *ja'ā'il* so long as the Muslims are strong. If they are weak, then it is all right for them to fortify one another in this manner. A man who has enough money of his own should therefore not accept *ju'l*, but may do so if he has none.(529)

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(524) Women, children, merchants, and slaves receive neither shares nor *raḍkh* ("discretionary payments"). *Mudawwana*, III, 32 (correct Schacht's edition of Ṭabarī, *Ikhtilāf al-fuqahā'*, p. 21, n.1, which gives III, 23).

(525) Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, XII, 87-88.

(526) Khaṭṭābī, *Ma'ālim al-sunan*, quoted by 'Aẓīmābādī, *'Awn al-ma'būd*, VII, 201; Ibn Ḥazm, *Muḥallā*, VII, 333, l. 13.

(527) Sarakhsī, *Kitāb al-mabsūṭ*, X, 19-21; *Sharḥ al-siyar al-kabīr*, I, 138-144. This *Sharḥ* is not a real commentary on Shaybānī's *Siyar*: it omits, rearranges, and paraphrases, and adds much of Sarakhsī's own rationalizing. See Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 13.

(528) This subject does not come up in the *Āthār Abī Yūsuf* and the *Āthār al-Shaybānī*. The *Muwaṭṭa'* of Shaybānī deals only with the related issue of donations.

(529) Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ*, I, 138; echoed by Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, XII, 87-88.

I have not been able to find such a statement attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa in the works of the early Ḥanafī jurists. Perhaps Sarakhsī is giving a summary of the Ḥanafī position--according to his own understanding.

What we do have is a section of Shaybānī's *Kitāb al-siyar al-kabīr* which deals with *ju`l*. Here Shaybānī only reports traditions, most of them with Kufan isnāds. The *tābi`ī* Ibrāhīm al-Nakha`ī makes the simple assertion that *ju`l* is acceptable.(530) Ibrāhīm is also said to have paid *ju`l* to someone to perform active service in the *thughūr* for him.(531) Another *tābi`ī*, Maymūn ibn Mihrān (d. 116 or 117) also lends support to *ja`ā'il*, though with a qualification.(532) The practice of *ju`l* is also attributed to the *ṣaḥābī* Jarīr ibn `Abdallāh (d. 51).(533)

From all this we may detect a Kufan/early Hanafī position generally in favor of *ja`ā'il*. However, we do find a few dissenting voices among the early Iraqis.(534)

4.4.3.2 The ajīr

In Ṭabarī's *Ikhtilāf al-fuqahā'*, a section is devoted to the question of "whether or not shares should be allotted to the minor, the *ajīr*, the slave, the female, and the *ahl al-dhimma*."(535) Here we have a statement which,

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(530) Shaybānī, ed. Khadduri, *Kitāb al-siyar al-kabīr*, p. 97; tr. Khadduri (*Islamic Law of Nations*), p. 85.

(531) Shaybānī, *Siyar*, pp. 96-97; *Islamic Law of Nations*, p. 84.

(532) Shaybānī, *Siyar*, p. 97; *Islamic Law of Nations*, pp. 85-86. *Ju`l* is all right, but one who accepts it should not then "hire another person [to fight] for an amount less than that contribution."

(533) Shaybānī, *Siyar*, p. 97; *Islamic Law of Nations*, p. 86; Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ*, I, 139; *Mabsūṭ*, X, 20-21. See below, 4.5.2.2.

(534) See Ibn Abī Shayba, V, 346-348; below, 4.5.1.

(535) Ṭabarī, ed. Schacht, *Ikhtilāf al-fuqahā'*, pp. 20-21. This title of the section is found in the *fihrist*. Unfortunately, the opening words of

according to Schacht, represents the views of Abū Ḥanīfa and his followers.(536)

> An *ajīr* who accompanies a man in the Muslim army in enemy territory, serving him in return for an *ajr*, without fighting, receives no share in the spoils, whether he is slave or free....But if the *ajīr* is a free man, and if he fights together with the Muslims so that they get the spoils (*ḥattā yaghnamū*), then he is allotted a share, as are the Muslims.

This stands in contrast to the "school" position on women, minors, helpful *mushrikūn*, and slaves, all of whom may receive *raḍkh* but no shares.(537)

4.4.3.3 Takhalluf

Shaybānī mentions two *ṣaḥābī* traditions. 1) `Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb used to send the bachelors off to war, in place of the married men. He would give the warrior the married man's horse.(538) 2) Ibn `Abbās made a pronouncement in favor of *ja`ā'il*, after being asked what was the proper contribution for those who remained behind to make to the fighters, in a situation in which five, six, or seven of every ten men were required to go and fight.(539)

In Shaybānī's *Siyar*, these two traditions are interspersed among the others. However, they stand out, not only because of their subject-matter, but because of their isnāds. `Umar does occasionally appear as an authority for

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the section are lacking in the ms.

(536) See p. 20, n. 1, *wa-qālū jamī`an.*

(537) Ṭabarī, *Ikhtilāf*, p. 20; Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-radd*, pp. 37-45, 120.

(538) Shaybānī, *Siyar*, p. 97; *Islamic Law of Nations*, p. 85; Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ*, I, 138; *Mabsūṭ*, X, 20.

(539) Shaybānī, *Siyar*, p. 97; *Islamic Law of Nations*, pp. 84-85; Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ*, I, 138-139; *Mabsūṭ*, X, 20; `Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, V, 230, #9461; Ibn Abī Shayba, V, 346. Ibn `Abbās' reply did not quite fit the question: he said that only contributions for mounts and weapons were permissible; household goods (*matā` al-bayt*) were not. Sarakhsī adds fine points on whether or not the recipient may use the money however he likes (cf. Qur'ān 2:262).

the Kufans,(540) but less frequently than do the Companions `Alī and Ibn Mas`ūd. This tradition, associating `Umar with *takhalluf*, is relayed by Abū `Uthmān al-Nahdī (d. 95) and `Āṣim ibn Sulaymān al-Aḥwal (d. 142 or 143), both of whom were associated at least as much with Basra as with Kūfa.(541) The tradition about Ibn `Abbās, not a Kufan figure at all,(542) is handed down by Abū Ṣāliḥ [Dhakwān] al-Sammān (d. 101), a Medinese, and the Kufan Abū Isḥāq al-Sabī`ī (d. 116, 117, or 118), and two unnamed persons. In other words, this tradition appears to have been "adopted" by the Kufans at some point.(543)

4.4.3.4 Sarakhsī

Sarakhsī discusses this practice attributed to `Umar, and states that some people say that he [`Umar] did this by mutual consent (*bi'l-tarāḍī*). If such consent is lacking, says Sarakhsī, then the Imām should equip the ghāzī out of the *bayt al-māl*, or state treasury, since the money kept there is intended for this purpose. But if the *bayt al-māl* is depleted, at a time when it is necessary to ward off the enemy, then the Imām, by virtue of his responsibility for the *umma*, may constrain people to pay (*fa-lahu an yaḥkuma `alā al-nās*), in particular the wealthy ones (*arbāb al-māl*).

It is this power and responsibility of the Imām, says Sarakhsī, which underly the practice of *ju`l*. For giving *ju`l* is not simply a matter of hiring someone for wages, but rather of providing aid to the expeditionary

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(540) Schacht, *Origins*, p. 32.

(541) Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 42-43, VI, 277-278.

(542) Schacht assigns him to the Meccans, *Origins*, pp. 249-252.

(543) Note that it is stitched together, and that Ibn `Abbās' answer is not entirely relevant to the question. In Sarakhsī, we find this same statement from Ibn `Abbās appended to an entirely different question.

armies.(544) Sarakhsī takes this so far as to interpret the phrase *ḍaraba ba`than* (in the tradition about Jarīr ibn `Abdallāh, see above, 4.4.3.1) as "constraining people to pay their money, according to the extent to which it is necessary to equip the army."(545)

In much of this, Sarakhsī seems to be echoing Shāfi`ī (see following section) instead of the rather fragmentary views of the early Hanafī jurists. For Shāfi`ī was the first to make the role of the Imām the essential ingredient of a theory of *ju`l*.

The early Hanafīs seem, in fact, to have consistently interpreted *ju`l* as a transaction between individuals; and here, where an Imām (`Umar) and the entire community become involved, the element of *takhalluf* has the effect of breaking the situation down to individuals again.

Finally, another noteworthy fact about the early Ḥanafī material is the total absence in it of prophetic hadīth.(546)

4.4.4 *Shāfi`ī*

Shāfi`ī's treatment of *ju`l*, at least as it appears in *Kitāb al-umm*, is interspersed with other matters, and not clearly ordered. The following section will extract a "theory of *ju`l*."

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(544) *Mabsūṭ*, X, 19, *fa-naqūl al-isti'jār `alā al-jihād lā yajūzu wa'l-tajā`ul laysa bi'sti'jār wa-lakinnahu i`āna `alā al-siyar.*

(545) *Mabsūṭ*, X, 20-21, *wa-ma`nā ḍarb al-ba`th al-taḥakkum `alayhim fī amwālihim bi-qadr al-ḥāja li-tajhīz al-jaysh.*

(546) Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, X, 19, quotes a prophetic tradition against shares for the *ajīr* (=recipient of *ju`l*). This is countered by Ibn `Abbās, using the same words as above.

4.4.4.1 *Farḍ al-jihād*

We must begin with the most basic purpose of the jihād, which is twofold: 1) to prevent the enemy from entering Muslim territory, and only then, 2) to send enough Muslims on campaign as will succeed in converting the idolaters to Islam, or in imposing *jizya* on the *ahl al-kitāb*.(547) Shāfi`ī adduces Qur'ān and the sunna of the Prophet to show that the *farḍ al-jihād* is an obligation incumbent on the entire community of the Muslims, but of which the community may acquit itself through the activity of a certain number only, if that number is sufficient to accomplish these two purposes (*an yaqūma bihi man fīhi kifāya*). If a sufficient number of mujāhidūn perform the jihād, then those who do not fight are not held to blame.(548) This is, of course, what later generations called a *farḍ kifāya*, although Shāfi`ī does not call it this. It should be noted that in the *Risāla*(549) Shāfi`ī again clearly states the principle of *farḍ kifāya*, without using the phrase.

What stands out in this discussion of the *farḍ al-jihād* is the ceaseless need for manpower. Shāfi`ī gives a (second) definition of the basic purpose of the jihād, in a formula which starkly expresses this need: *sadd aṭrāf al-muslimīn bi'l-rijāl* ("to keep the outposts [weak spots] of the Muslims supplied with men [literally, blocked, dammed up]").(550)

How is this need filled? Aside from the attraction of earthly and heavenly rewards, a Muslim must be aware of the obligation upon the community. But not all who wish to fight may do so. The mujāhid must bring his own provi-

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(547) *Umm*, IV, 90.

(548) *Ibid.*

(549) Ed. Shākir, pp. 362-369.

(550) *Umm*, IV, 91.

sions (*mu'na*), weapons, equipment, and mount, all out of his own wealth.(551) He must also provide money for his dependents during his absence.(552) Only one who can provide (*wajada*) these things enters the category of those upon whom the performance of the *farḍ al-jihād* is incumbent. All others are exempt.(553) Shāfi`ī cites the Qur'ān (9:91-92, see above, 4.3.2), as the basis for the principle that not only those who are physically weakened, but also those who do not have enough money to equip themselves, are exempt from the jihād.

A healthy man who lacks (*lam yajid*) a mount, weapons, or sufficient money for his dependents, should estimate the time he will be absent on campaign. If he comes up with (*wajada*) only part of what he requires, he must be considered as belonging to the class of those who are unable to equip themselves.(554) If he arrives at the frontier, and then runs out of the prerequisites, or falls sick, he has a legitimate excuse (*ṣāra min ahl al-`udhr*), and may return home.(555)

This system presents obvious difficulties. The initial investment lies beyond the means of most potential soldiers, however great the promise of earthly spoils and heavenly reward. It should be mentioned that in all of this, Shāfi`ī mentions neither *fay'* nor *`aṭā'*.

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(551) *Umm*, IV, 86.

(552) *Umm*, IV, 86.

(553) *Umm*, IV, 86. Shāfi`ī's technical use of the verb *wajada* ("to acquire enough money, etc., to enable one to go off to war") seems derived from Qur'ān 9:92, *allā yajidūna mā yunfiqūna*. Cf. Jaṣṣāṣ, *Ahkām al-Qur'ān*, III, 117, l. 13; above, 4.3.1.3.

(554) *Umm*, IV, 86.

(555) *Ibid*.

4.4.4.2 Taṭawwu`

Shāfi`ī outlines a first solution to this problem. If a man goes on campaign, and then runs out of the prerequisites (*ṣāra mimman lā yajidu*), he is allowed to return home. However, Shāfi`ī recommends (*wa-kāna aḥabba ilayya*) that such a person remain with the army as a volunteer.(556)

It is usually understood that the *mutaṭawwi`un* (or, better, *muṭṭawwi`a*) were men who took part in the campaigns either for less pay than the regular troops received(557) or for none at all.(558) Because of a well-known passage in Ibn Ḥawqal, we know that in the fourth/tenth century *muṭṭawwi`s* lived in Ṭarsūs in barracks funded by *awqāf* maintained by their province of origin.(559) But the situation in the Umayyad and early Abbasid periods is less clear. In Balādhurī's *Futūḥ*, we find *muṭṭawwi`a* in al-Maṣṣīṣa. Here they are considered distinct from the regular soldiers, the *jund*.

> And when al-Mahdī assumed the caliphate, he provided for pay for two thousand men in al-Maṣṣīṣa, but he did not grant them *qaṭā'i`*, since it [al-Maṣṣīṣa] was already garrisoned by regular soldiers and volunteers.(560)

We find a similar situation in nearby al-Hārūniyya.(561)

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(556) *Umm*, IV, 86. *Wa-yataṭawwa`u li-annahu idhā lam yajid fa-huwa mutaṭawwi` bi'l-ghazw.*

(557) Cl. Cahen, "Djaysh," EI2, II, 505.

(558) Haldon and Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries," p. 110.

(559) Ibn Ḥawqal, pp. 183-184; Haldon and Kennedy, *loc. cit.*

(560) *Futūḥ*, p. 166. *Wa-lammā 'stakhlafa al-Mahdī faraḍa bi'l-Maṣṣīṣa li-alfay rajul wa-lam yuqṭi`him li-annahā qad kānat shuḥinat min al-jund wa'l-muṭṭawwi`a.*

(561) *Ibid.*, p. 171, using similar language. The date 183 should be changed to the early 160's (above, 3.4). This earlier date harmonizes with the events in al-Maṣṣīṣa just mentioned.

4.4.4.3 Ju'l paid by the Sulṭān

The topic of *ju'l* for the soldiers appears in several places in Shāfi'ī's discussion. It amounts to a second solution to the problem described above. Shāfi'ī never explicitly connects *ju'l* with his suggestion that the indigent fighter should become a *mutaṭawwi'*. The relation between the *muṭṭawwi'a* and the *ghuzāt* remains somewhat hazy.(562)

According to Shāfi'ī, one may never accept *ju'l* from an individual. If a man goes on campaign in exchange for such a *ju'l*, he must return home and reimburse the one who paid it.(563) However, Shāfi'ī does permit fighters to accept *ju'l* from the government (*min al-sulṭān*), and only from the government.(564)

A man who goes to perform jihâd must return home if he is summoned by a parent (if that parent is Muslim) or a creditor (of any religion).(565) However, this principle does not apply if he has made a contract of *ju'l* with the *sulṭān*.(566) The *sulṭān*, on its part, may not reclaim its *ju'l*, even if the soldier becomes incapacitated during the campaign. This is because of the nature of the obligation incurred: *wa-laysa lahu al-rujū' fī 'l-ju'l li-annahu ḥaqq min ḥaqqihi akhadhahu wa-huwa yastawjibuhu* ("[The *sulṭān*] may not renege on the *ju'l* because it is a right of his which he has assumed, and which obligates him [the *sulṭān*]").(567)

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(562) As it is in Cahen, *loc. cit.*

(563) *Umm*, IV, 87.

(564) *Umm*, IV, 87. *Innamā ajaztu lahu hādhā min al-sulṭān annahu yaghzuwa bi-shay' min mālihi.*

(565) *Umm*, IV, 86. Cf. Zurqānī, *Sharḥ*, III, 294.

(566) *Umm*, IV, 87. The *sulṭān* must let him return if he becomes incapacitated on campaign.

(567) *Umm*, IV, 87.

4.4.4.4 Qillat al-wujūd

Elsewhere, Shāfiʿī describes what amounts to a third solution. Here the word *juʿl* does not appear. Shāfiʿī says that the *sulṭān* may detain soldiers on campaign (against their will) only in one case: that of a soldier who sets out *bi-qillat al-wujūd*. This could mean either 1) with insufficient supplies and weapons (*wajada* is the term which Shāfiʿī uses for this throughout), or 2) in exchange for sustenance (as in *istaqalla* = "having enough money to make the journey on one's own"). In either case, the result is the same: the *sulṭān* must keep these men supplied and equipped (*fa-ʿalayhi an yuʿṭiyahum ḥattā yakūna wājidan*).(568)

A soldier who has accepted this help must remain on the jihād until the end of the campaign; that is, the *sulṭān* has the right to detain him. However, a soldier who has declined this help from the *sulṭān* may leave the campaign.(569)

It seems fairly clear that both in the passage on *juʿl* paid by the *sulṭān* and in the passage on *qillat al-wujūd*, Shāfiʿī is alluding to the same thing, even though he does not use the word *juʿl* in the latter. It is tempting to assimilate the poor *mutaṭawwiʿ* to this system: that is, when Shāfiʿī says that the indigent mujāhid should become (or indeed, already is) a *mutaṭawwiʿ*(570) he means that he should accept *juʿl* from the *sulṭān*.

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(568) *Umm*, IV, 87. It is difficult to see how this could refer to giving ʿ*aṭā*', since this subject has not come up anywhere in the discussion, and the words *an yuʿṭiyahum* could simply mean "that he give to them."

(569) *Umm*, IV, 87-88.

(570) *Umm*, IV, 86; above, 4.4.4.2.

4.4.4.5 Raḍkh

What is the source of the money and supplies which the *sulṭān* gives by way of *ju'l*? Shāfi'ī mentions in several places that the Prophet made discretionary payments (*raḍakha*) or gave presents (*aḥdhā*) to women, slaves, and minors who took part in the battle.(571) These people were not allotted regular shares from the booty; and if the Imām gives such *raḍkh* or *ḥidhya*, he should make the amount of the gift less than that of a regular share.

We come closer to an answer in another of Shāfi'ī's cases: that of a *mushrik* who helps the Muslims by acting as a guide or showing them the enemy's weak spots. Shāfi'ī recommends that such a person not receive anything from the *fay'*. Instead, he should receive a wage (*wa-yusta'jaru ijāratan*). This money must come from *māl lā mālik lahu bi-'aynihi wa-huwa ghayr sahm al-nabī*. This seems to mean "money which has no determinate owner, [and which is] not the Prophet's share"--that is, from the other four fifths of the spoils, before they have been divided up and assigned to owners. This *raḍkh* should in any case be less than the amount of a regular share.(572)

The helpful *mushrik* receives a wage (*yusta'jaru ijāratan*). This is like the recipient of *ju'l*, who in the ḥadīth (though not in these pages of Shāfi'ī) is constantly referred to as an *ajīr*. If the analogy is correct, then the *ajīr*, who receives *raḍkh*, is given a discretionary "gift" out of the spoils--but in any case, not out of the *fay'*.

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(571) *Umm*, IV, 86, 88-89.

(572) *Umm*, IV, 89-90. At IV, 88, it is stated that *raḍkh* comes from the *ghanīma*.

4.4.4.6 The ajīr

Elsewhere, in a chapter on division of the spoils,(573) Shāfi`ī discusses the *ajīr*. He notes three opinions concerning the *ajīr* who sets out intending to perform jihād. 1) He is awarded a share; 2) he must choose between receiving a share, while relinquishing his wage, or receiving the wage, while relinquishing the share; or 3) he receives only *raḍkh*. Shāfi`ī expresses no preference among these three views, and then goes on to discuss other cases such as women and *dhimmīs* (for whom Shāfi`ī recommends *raḍkh* but no share).

Shāfi`ī's discussion of the *ajīr* parallels that of Mālik and the Ḥanafīs (particularly in that the *ajīr* is considered together with women, slaves, *dhimmīs*, etc.). However, Shāfi`ī's *ajīr* could very well be taken to mean a recipient of *ju`l*--which could not happen in the case of Mālik and the Ḥanafīs (see above, 4.4.2.3, 4.4.3.2). In any case, it would be difficult to reconcile what Shāfi`ī says here about the *ajīr* with his teachings on *ju`l*, which are in a different place.

4.4.4.7 Takhalluf

Shāfi`ī outlines what we may call a theory of *takhalluf*. As stated above (4.4.4.1), one who remains behind does not incur blame for neglecting the jihād, if a sufficient number of Muslims perform it. When the Prophet went on his expeditions, he used to leave behind a certain number of trustworthy men (*rijāl ma`rūfūn*). He often stayed at home himself.(574) Furthermore, the amīr in charge of a frontier zone may not send all the inhabitants of an encampment (*dār*) on expedition, without leaving behind enough soldiers to protect the encampment from the enemy. Therefore, if the Muslims in that

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(573) *Umm*, IV, 70; cf. IV, 85.

(574) *Umm*, IV, 90.

encampment are few in number, none of them should go out on campaign. They should stay in the *ribāṭ al-jihād*, with their provisions.(575)

Thus, duty in a frontier fortress, a *thaghr*(576) may constitute performance of jihād, even if one does not actively attack the *mushrikūn*. And from this we may derive a justification for supplying the garrison of Malaṭya with *ju'l*: even though they are settled in the town, they nonetheless retain the status of mujāhidūn.

Shāfi'ī goes on to say that if the *ribāṭ al-jihād* are secure (*mumtani'a*), under no immediate threat from the enemy, then the most the amīr may do is to send one of every two men on expedition. The one who stays behind takes responsibility for the family and property of the one who goes away.(577)

Shāfi'ī bases this one-out-of-two rule on a tradition according to which the Prophet applied this rule to the Muslims while preparing for the expedition against Tabūk.(578) This is in fact the only prophetic tradition bearing upon the (larger) question of *ju'l* of which Shāfi'ī shows any knowledge.

Shāfi'ī's writings on *ju'l* and related subjects constitute the first approach to an integrated theory on these matters. He seems to have been the first to state openly that the *sulṭān* must play the most important role. He also brought into his thinking on this subject the vital principle that in frontier posts (*ribāṭ al-jihād*), all are mujāhidūn.

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(575) *Umm*, IV, 91. *Wa-kāna hā'ulā'i fī ribāṭ al-jihād wa-nuzulihim.*

(576) *Umm*, IV, 91-92.

(577) *Umm*, IV, 91. *Fa-yakhlufu 'l-muqīmu 'l-ẓā'ina fī ahlihi wa-mālihi.*

(578) *Umm*, IV, 91.

4.4.5 *The Ḥanbalīs*

In the scanty references to this subject which have survived in early Ḥanbalī literature,(579) the word *ju`l* does not appear. However, the *Musnad* of Aḥmad contains much of the ḥadīth on this subject.(580) It appears that the early position of the school resembled that of Shāfi`ī, in permitting some sort of payment to fighters from the community, but not from individuals.

4.4.5.1 *Ḥumlān*

Aḥmad declares himself opposed to *ḥumlān* (involving mounts), and to any donation "unless it is given disinterestedly" (*illā an yu`ṭā `an ghayri ishrāfi nafsin ilayhi*).(581) This condition of "disinterestedness" is met if it is the community (*al-nās*) which makes the donation.(582) Failing this, it is better to perform *ghazw* without a horse; or else (as last choice) to perform *ribāṭ*.(583) This resembles the position of Shāfi`ī, that it is all right to take from the *sulṭān*, but not from a private individual.

4.4.5.2 *Ju`l*

There is a passage in Khiraqī's *Mukhtaṣar* which served Ibn Qudāma as a basis for constructing a full theory; but here, Ibn Qudāma in effect performed his own *ijtihād*, in order to extract "the intent (*ma`nā*) of Aḥmad and Khiraqī." This passage is as follows.

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(579) Nothing appears on this in the books of *Masā'il al-Imām Aḥmad* by his son `Abdallāh and by Abū Dāwūd.

(580) III, 34-35, 49, 55, 91; IV, 150, 179-180, 243-244, 344, 386; V, 413.

(581) *Masā'il al-Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal riwāyat Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hāni' al-Naysābūrī*, p. 108, #1632.

(582) *Ibid.*, #1635. *Qāla [Aḥmad] na`m qad kāna 'l-nāsu yujahhizūna wa-ya'khudhūna wa-yaghzūna lā ba'sa.*

(583) *Ibid.*, #1633.

> If the amīr hires a group (*qawm*) to go on campaign with the Muslims because of the benefit [accruing to the latter from their presence], no share should be allotted to them. They should be given [the wage] for which they were hired.(584)

This situation has already appeared in the early jurists.(585) Khiraqī does not use the words *ajīr* and *ju'l*, but the situation resembles the one described with *ju'l*.

Aḥmad's position, says Ibn Qudāma,(586) was that an imām who hires a *qawm* to accompany him on campaign should give them no share of the spoils. Such a *qawm* consists of people who are under no obligation to perform jihād, such as slaves and *kuffār*. But may free Muslim males accept wages for performing jihād? This statement of Aḥmad and Khiraqi, says Ibn Qudāma, may be understood as applying to those for whom the jihād is not a personal obligation (*li-man lam yata'ayyan 'alayhi*)--a category which extends to free Muslim males, since jihād "is not limited to those seeking to draw near to God" (*wa-li-annahu amr lā yakhtaṣṣu fā'iluhu an yakūna min ahl al-qurba*). One may hire people to perform it just as one may hire them to build a mosque. Ibn Qudāma then reverts to more conventional language, by stating that jihād, unlike the pilgrimage, is not a *farḍ 'ayn*, and that the constant need for soldiers justifies the payment of *ju'l*.

Ibn Qudāma then takes on the ḥadīth, where he manages to find support for this position.

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(584) Khiraqī, *Mukhtaṣar*, p. 204. *Wa-idhā 'sta'jara al-amīr qawman yaghzūna ma'a al-Muslimīn li-manāfi'ihim lahum lam yusham lahum wa-u'ṭū mā 'stu'jirū bihi.*

(585) Ṭabarī, *Ikhtilāf al-fuqahā'*, p. 21, ll. 10-12; Shāfi'ī, *Umm*, IV, 70; VII, 177.

(586) The following passage occurs in *Mughnī*, IX, 303-304.

4.4.5.3 The ajīr

Ibn Qudāma declares, on the basis of the sunna of the prophet, that the recipient of *ju'l* should receive no share of the spoils. He then acknowledges an opposing position, that of the Ḥanbalī al-Khallāl (d. 311), whom Ibn Qudāma cites as stating(587) that Aḥmad's position was that the *ajīr* receives a share of the spoils (the underlying principle being that all those who take part in the fighting receive shares). Here we have a clear example of the ambiguity of the word *ajīr*. Ibn Qudāma's argument up to this point has clearly been about the recipient of *ju'l* (*ajīr* in the sense in which it usually appears in the prophetic ḥadīth). Aḥmad, as cited here by Khallāl, refers to *ajīr* in the sense of personal servant or camp follower.

However, Ibn Qudāma seems aware of this shift. His solution is that the *ajīr* should be allotted a share if he was among the mujāhidūn, and went with the intention of fighting.(588) But as for those who receive something out of the *fay'* or the *ṣadaqa*, Ibn Qudāma says that they receive shares in any case, because their *ju'l* (Ibn Qudāma here does not use this word) is not paid in exchange for their jihād, but is rather a *ḥaqqun ja'alahu 'llāhu lahum li-yaghzū*,(589) that is, "a right [of theirs] which God has made for them, in order for them to go to war."

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(587) Probably in his *Kitāb al-jāmi' li-'ulūm Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal* (see Sezgin, GAS, I, 512).

(588) According to the old Ḥanafī understanding of the *ajīr* (Ṭabarī, *Ikhtilāf*, p. 21; see above, 4.4.3.2), he would not be an *ajīr* at all if he set out with the intention of fighting.

(589) The edition omits the quiescent *alif* of *yaghzū*, but the sentence makes no sense without it.

4.4.6 *Ijāra and Ju'l*

The early Hanafī school construed *ju'l* as a transaction between two individuals. The reason for this may be that, in their search for legal analogies, the old *ahl al-ra'y* assimilated a certain form of payment to the Islamic law of hire as they understood it. This is where we must next look for clues.

The Islamic law of hire bears a strong resemblance to the Roman.(590) In both systems, *ijāra* (*locatio conductio operarum*, the hire of services) is a purely consensual contract(591) which has as its object the benefits (*manāfi'*) which derive from a piece of work. The prerequisites of *ijāra* are that the stipulated work 1) must represent a service capable of being assigned a concrete value; 2) it must be determinate, 3) possible, and 4) licit.(592) These same prerequisites also apply to *kirā'*, the hire of a thing (*locatio conductio rei*).(593) *Ijāra* is not valid in the case of an aleatory or undetermined transaction, which depends on the result of the work in question.(594) This is likely to have been a sticking point for the early Islamic jurists. For while hired soldiers produce benefits for the community,(595) the results of their efforts can never be known in advance.

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(590) Compare Santillana's presentation, below, with R. W. Lee, *Elements of Roman Law* (London 1956), pp. 320-325; H. F. Jolowicz, *Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law* (Cambridge 1952), pp. 165, 308-309.

(591) Roman law recognizes two broad categories of contract, the consensual and the formal. The former arises from agreement among the parties rather than from abiding by specific forms. Hire (*locatio conductio*) is one of four consensual contracts ordinarily recognized by Roman law. I would like to thank Mr. David Eisenberg for his help on this.

(592) D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano*, II, 255.

(593) *Ibid.*, II, 233.

(594) *Ibid.*, II, 259.

(595) Khiraqī, *Mukhtaṣar*, p. 209, *idhā 'sta'jara al-amīr qawman...li-manāfi'ihim....* See above, 4.4.5.1.

The special form of hire known in Roman law as *locatio conductio operis* has in Islamic law the technical name of *ju'l* or *ju'āla*. This form of hire has as its object the completed piece of work or finished product. *Ju'l* is the contract formed if someone hires a builder to build him a house in return for a specified sum to be paid upon completion of the task, or when someone promises a reward to whoever will return to him an object which he has lost.(596) It is not a purely consensual contract: until the work has begun, the one who has undertaken to perform it may withdraw his offer.(597)

This form apparently allowed more room for an indeterminate element.(598) Nonetheless, the jurists would soon have encountered problems in applying this form to soldiers' pay. For while a contract of *ju'l* (in this more general sense) has a certain aleatory character, it still requires that the task (*'amal*) in question be exactly determined, according to its nature. Furthermore, the *musta'jir* (*conductor operis*) must himself have an interest in the work. The compensation may not be uncertain or aleatory.(599)

The problem remains that the outcome of war is always uncertain; and that in any case the value of victory cannot be precisely determined. (Spoils of war are a separate issue, one which does not involve the law of hire with its *quid pro quo*).

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(596) Santillana, *Istituzioni*, II, 269-270.

(597) *Ibid.*, II, 271.

(598) *Ibid.*, II, 270: "The more or less aleatory nature of this contract did not escape the notice of the Muslim jurists, who nonetheless found justification for it in the Qur'ān [12:72], in tradition," and in consensus.

(599) *Ibid.*, II, 270-271.

The jurists encountered another difficulty, which we may easily see in the ḥadīth. In their discussions of the law of hire, the jurists use the words *ajr* and *ujra* more or less interchangeably.(600) But in matters of jihād the word *ajr* had, or came to acquire, the theologically loaded meaning which it has in the Qur'ān.(601) One might describe Qur'ān 9:111 (God has bought the believers' wealth and lives in exchange for Paradise, see above, 4.3.1) as a contract, but it remains impossible to interpret such a "contract" in terms of services and remuneration, in particular with the precision required by Islamic law.

This attack on theological grounds appears in the ḥadīth on (military) *ja`ā'il*. The words *ajr* and *ajīr* thus acquired the equivocal meanings which we see in some of the jurists' writings and in the hadīth.

4.5 *The Ḥadith*

It is impossible to say precisely how the ḥadīth developed, and in what order. The following presentation gives only a rough (though plausible) chronology.

4.5.1 *Tābi`īs*

`Abd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām (d. 211) reports in his *Muṣannaf* that he learned from Ma`mar ibn Rāshid (d. 154) that he [Ma`mar] once asked al-Zuhrī (d. 124) about *ja`ā'il*. Zuhrī replied, "If a man accepts it so as to fortify himself there is nothing wrong" (*idhā akhadhahu 'l-rajulu yataqawwā bihi fa-lā ba'-sa*).(602)

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(600) E. Tyan, "Idjār, idjāra," EI2, III, 1017.

(601) 4:95 is likely to have been important here: *wa-faḍḍala 'llāhu 'l-mujāhidīna `alā 'l-qā`idīna ajran `aẓīman*.

(602) `Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, V, 230, #9458. The editor, H.R. al-A`ẓamī,

Zuhrī's reply, which has something of the character of a maxim, provides us with a starting point. For here, beyond Zuhrī, we have no isnād at all; rather, we may have an instance of what Schacht called Umayyad administrative practice as the starting-point of Muslim jurisprudence.(603) Zuhrī was, of course, closely associated with the Umayyads.(604)

We have another *tābiʿī* tradition in support of *jaʿāʾil* from Maymūn ibn Mihrān (d. 116 or 117).(605) However much Maymūn may have inclined to *tashayyuʿ*, he was put in charge of both the *kharāj* and the *qaḍāʾ* of al-Jazīra during the reign of ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. Like Zuhrī, he enjoyed the admiration of that caliph.(606) If *juʿl* became a legal problem under the Umayyads, then the qāḍī of the frontier province of al-Jazīra would have been precisely the man called upon to pronounce upon it.(607)

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reports that in one of his mss. (ṣ), the word *bi-daynihi* is inserted after *akhadhahu*. It is not clear which ms. he means by this: at I, 8, we are promised a discussion of manuscripts in some future volume (unspecified), but no such discussion seems ever to have been included. According to Aʿẓāmī's own *rumūz*, *s* does not indicate *ṣaḥīḥ*, and in any case, no such phrase occurs on Bukhārī or Muslim. If *ṣ* means *aṣl*, it is again not clear what this means. In any case, this *bi-daynihi* stands in only one ms.; and in the echoes of this phrase which we find in the hadīth, it never reappears. However, the possibility exists that the *bi-daynihi* version was the earliest form, subsequently altered.

(603) *Origins*, pp. 190f., esp. 198, 204-205.

(604) Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, V, 138f.; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 46-47.

(605) Shaybānī, *Siyar*, p. 97; tr. Khadduri, *Islamic Law of nations*, pp. 85-86; above, 4.4.3.1. The isnād is Maymūn--Abū Yūsuf--"a shaykh."

(606) Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 391. For ʿUmar's admiration of Zuhrī, see Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, V, 391; Ibn Ḥajar, IX, 449, "There is no one more learned than he in *sunna māḍiya*."

(607) Schacht, *Origins*, p. 191; Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam* (second ed., Leiden 1960), p. 121.

We thus have two traditions which we might call fragments of Umayyad administrative law. The other *tābi`ī* traditions which we have seem mostly to represent the tradition of Kufa.(608) Ibrāhīm al-Nakha`ī allows *ja`ā'il* in principle(609) and himself gives *ju`l* to a man who takes his place in an expedition.(610) We also find Ibrāhīm stating more guarded approval, "It is better to give [*ji`āla*] than to receive."(611)

Masrūq is also said to have paid *ju`l* to someone who took his place.(612) But elsewhere Masrūq is associated with disapproval of *ja`ā'il*, together with the Kufan al-Aswad (ibn Yazīd al-Nakha`ī, d. 74 or 75) and the Medinese `Ikrima (d. 105).(613) This would indicate that the early jurists (including the Iraqis) were not all in agreement on this matter.(614) However, the opinions expressed by tābi`īs are mostly in favor of *ja`ā'il*.(615)

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(608) See above, 4.4.3.1-3. Maymūn ibn Mihrān was a Kufan who went to live in al-Raqqa.

(609) Shaybānī, *Siyar*, p. 97; *Islamic Law of Nations*, p. 85. Ibrāhīm--Ḥammād--Abū Yūsuf--Shaybānī.

(610) Shaybānī, *Siyar*, pp. 96-97; *Islamic Law of Nations*, p. 84. Ibrāhīm--al-Ḥakam ibn `Utayba (Kufan, d. 113 or 115)--al-Ḥasan ibn `Umāra (Kufan, d. 153, qāḍī of Baghdad under al-Manṣūr)--Abū Isḥāq [al-Sabī`ī] --Abū Yūsuf--Shaybānī.

(611) `Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, V, 231, #9462. Ibrāhīm--Mansūr ibn al-Mu`tamer (Kufan, d. 132)--al-Thawrī (d. 161)--`Abd al-Razzāq.

(612) *Ibid.*, V, 231, #9463. Al-Muntashir (Kufan nephew of Masrūq, n.d., Ibn Ḥajar, IX, 471)--Ibrāhīm ibn al-Muntashir (Kufan, n.d.)--Ibn `Uyayna (d. 196).

(613) Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, V, 347.

(614) Contradiction occurs yet again: al-Aswad, asked by Ibrāhīm (al-Nakha`ī), states approval of the practice of accepting *ju`l* and then paying someone else in turn (a smaller amount). Ibn Abī Shayba, V, 346.

(615) These also include (Muḥammad) Ibn Sīrīn (Basran, d. 110), al-Nu`mān ibn Abī `Ayyāsh (Medinese, n.d.), and `Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yazīd al-Nakha`ī (Kufan, brother of al-Aswad, d. 73 or 83). Ibn Abī Shayba, V, 347-348.

Most interesting for our purposes is the statement attributed to Makḥūl (Syrian, d. between 112 and 118),(616) "that he saw nothing wrong with *ju`l* in the tribe" (*annahu lā yarā bi'l-ju`l fī 'l-qabīla ba'san*).(617) This brings to mind the phrase from Balādhurī with which this chapter began. The meaning of *al-ju`l fī 'l-qabīla* remains obscure, and seems to imply a transaction within one tribe. In any case, the association of *ju`l* with tribes may here be assigned to (Umayyad) Syria. From the isnād of this tradition, we may also detect a connection with the *thughūr* themselves.(618)

The *tābi`ī* traditions provide evidence of disagreement among the early authorities of all the important centers. For the most part, however, they may be said to embody a Kufan position in favor of *ju`l*, which is understood as a one-to-one procedure. This position seems to coincide with Umayyad practice.

4.5.2 Ṣaḥābīs

4.5.2.1 Attack

Opposition to *ja`ā'il* is expressed by `Abdallāh ibn `Umar.

> The man who stays [at home] used to give a donation to the warrior. But as for a man's selling his own *ghazw*, I don't know what that is.
>
> *Kāna 'l-qā`idu yamnaḥu 'l-ghāziya* [following A`ẓamī's emendation *yamnaḥu* for *yamna`u*] *fa-ammā an yabī`a 'l-rajulu ghazwahu fa-lā adrī mā huwa*.(619)

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(616) That the Syrian Makḥūl is meant here seems borne out by the transmission from the Damascene Sa`īd ibn `Abd al-`Azīz (d. 127 or 128) to `Īsā ibn Abī Isḥāq (d. 187 or 191 in al-Ḥadath).

(617) Ibn Abī Shayba, V, 346-347.

(618) Sa`d ibn `Abd al-`Azīz (Damascene, d. 127 or 128)--`Īsā ibn Abī Isḥāq (d. 187 or 191 in al-Ḥadath). `Īsā [ibn Yūnus] ibn Abī Isḥāq was a Kufan who settled in the *thughūr*. See below, 5.4.4.

(619) `Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, V, 230, #9495. The isnād is Basran: Ibn

Surprisingly, this tradition does not reappear in the ḥadīth. A possible reason for this is Ibn ʿUmar's phrase "selling his *ghazw*." Military *juʿl* was considered a form of hire and not of sale; and the attack on it came to focus on the concept of *ajr*, or reward/wage.(620)

But while Ibn ʿUmar condemns what appears to be a new practice, a *bidʿa*, he does state approval here for the established practice of giving donations. It will be remembered that in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* Ibn ʿUmar set the precedent for such donations (see above, 4.4.2.1). In fact, the pattern in this tradition of approval of the *sunna* of donations, together with rejection of the *bidʿa* of *juʿl*, reflects the position of Mālik (above, 4.4.2.1-2).

In another tradition of Ibn ʿUmar we find the opposition coming nearer to the line of attack which later became standard. The obscure figure Shaqīq ibn ʿĪzār al-Asadī (above, 4.2.1) asks Ibn ʿUmar about *jaʿāʾil*. He replies, "I don't accept bribes, except for the bribe which God offers me" (*lam akun la-artashī illā mā rashānī 'llāhu*).(621) Here we have wordplay on yet another meaning of *juʿl* (="bribe", see Lane s.v. *rishwa*).

In later ḥadīth this equivocation was always expressed through the word *ajr*. This may explain why this tradition, like the one previously discussed, had no *Fortleben*. Its Kufan isnād (Shaqīq [n.d.]--Al-Zubayr ibn ʿAdī [Kufan, d. 131]--al-Thawrī--ʿAbd al-Razzāq) indicates opposition within the very

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ʿUmar--[Muḥammad] ibn Sīrīn (Basran, d. 110)--Ayyūb [ibn abī Kaysān al-Sakhtiyānī] (Basran, d. 131)--Maʿmar--ʿAbd al-Razzāq.

(620) Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, I, 276, is an exception. But Ibn al-Athīr cites this tradition in a curiously altered version which reflects later developments in the ḥadīth. *Qāla [Ibn ʿUmar] lā aghzū ʿalā ajr wa-lā abīʿu ajrī min al-jihād*. The quibbling over *ajr* is characteristic of the prophetic ḥadīth (see below, 4.5.3.2).

(621) ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, V, 130, # 9460; Ibn Abī Shayba, V, 346; Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, IX, 27. Shaqīq then asks Ibn Zubayr, who expresses guarded approval.

group which supposedly advocated *ju'l* as a "school" position. Note that the attack is now on theological grounds.

Later we find Ibn `Umar supplanted by his father as the authority for the practice of donations (now becoming combined with *ḥumlān*).

> Mujāhid said, "I said to Ibn `Umar, '[Let's go] to war!' He said, 'I wish to help you with some of my money.' I said, 'God has been bountiful to me.' He said, 'Keep your money. I wish for my own money to be on this expedition' (*wajh*). `Umar said, "There are people who take from [other people's] money so as to perform jihād, and who then don't do this. If someone acts in this manner, we have a greater right to his money, and may take back what he took." Ṭāwus and Mujāhid said, "If something is given to you for you to set out *fī sabīl Allāh*, do whatever you like with it, or keep it in your family."(622)

This composite tradition preserves an argument over how the recipient of these gifts may dispose of them. `Umar elsewhere takes over the regulation of these matters, which become expressed as *ḥumlān*. `Umar runs off to the Prophet, who gives him a ruling which substantially agrees with the principle stated here by Ṭāwus and Mujāhid.(623)

The important point, however, is that in these *ṣaḥābī* traditions we have defense of *sunna* (donations to warriors) combined with condemnation of *bid`a* (*ju`l*). This corresponds to the position of Mālik.

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(622) Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 241, (Jihad 119). "`Umar" does not seem to be a mistake for "Ibn `Umar" here. Or rather, the confusion is more widespread: see Ibn Abī Shayba, V, 346, where Ibn Sīrīn writes to `Umar, and receives an answer resembling that of Ibn `Umar quoted at the beginning of this section, *lā abī`u naṣībī min al-jihād*.

(623) *Ibid.*

4.5.2.2 Defense

The attack on *ju'l* did not come only from the Medinese: we have seen evidence of opposition from Iraq as well. To fend off these attacks coming both from within and without, the pro-*ju'l* Kufans had recourse to *ṣaḥābī* traditions of their own. They came up with the following:

> Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān ordered the inhabitants of Kūfa to raise an army but he exempted Jarīr [ibn 'Abdallāh, d. 51] and his son. Jarīr said, "We would not accept [the exemption] but would give to the warrior a contribution from our property" (*wa-lakinnā naj'alu min amwālinā lil-ghāzī*).(624)

However, this tradition is exceptional, because the other *ṣaḥābī* traditions which we may connect with the Kufans are all concerned with the practice of *takhalluf*. These traditions go back either to Ibn 'Abbās or to 'Umar; it has already been shown that these traditions show Medinese (Ibn 'Abbās) and Basran ('Umar) origins (above, 4.4.3.3). The Ibn 'Abbās traditions in particular appear to have been stitched together from originally separate pieces.

> ['Ubayd ibn al-A'jam said:] I asked Ibn 'Abbās about *ja'ā'il*, when one of every four or three [Shaybānī: ten, five, six, or seven] of us was required to go. He answered, "If you make contributions of mounts or weapons, that is all right, but if you contribute a slave or a slavegirl, or small cattle [Shaybānī: household provisions], that is not permissible."(625)

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(624) Shaybānī, *Siyar*, p. 97; *Islamic Law of Nations*, p. 86; Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ*, I, 139; *Mabsūṭ*, X, 20-21; above, 4.4.3.1. Jarīr--"someone"--'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abdallāh (Kufan, d. 160, see Ibn Ḥajar, VI, 210-212)--Abū Yūsuf--Shaybānī.

(625) 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, V, 230, #9461. 'Ubayd--Abū Isḥāq--al-Thawrī--'Abd al-Razzāq. Shaybanī's version (*Siyar*, p. 97, *Islamic Law of Nations*, pp. 84-85) has the hopeless isnād of: "someone"--Abū Isḥāq al-Sabī'ī (Kufan, d. 116 or 117 or 129, see Ibn Ḥajar, VII, 63-67)--"a shaykh"--Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Sammān [Dhakwān al-Madanī, Ibn Ḥajar, III, 219-220] (d. 101)--Abū Yūsuf--Shaybānī. See also Ibn Abī Shayba, V, 346.

It is not entirely clear what all this means: Ibn `Abbās' reply does not quite fit the question. In Sarakhsī we find this statement from Ibn `Abbās tacked onto a different question altogether.(626) One gets the impression that the element of *takhalluf* has been added here to material having originally to do with donations or (less likely) *ju`l*.

We have seen that Shaybānī in his *Siyar* mixed together traditions about (simple) *ju`l* and *takhalluf* (above, 4.4.3.1, 4.4.3.3). The Kufans/early Hanafīs also approved of donations.(627) They thus seem to have responded to the attack on *ja`ā'il* with a defense in depth, using everything they could find. As a result, the distinctions among these things became blurred. The Medinese/early Mālikī position, on the other hand, emphasized the distinction between donations (including (*ḥumlān*) and outright *ju`l*. We do not have here a debate between the Kufans and the Medinese, however, so much as two scholastic solutions to a problem, based to some extent upon the same material.

4.5.3 The Prophet

The traditions going back to the Prophet are demonstrably late. Mālik has heard of none, apart from his mysterious reference to "after Ḥunayn" (above, 4.4.2.2). Shaybānī in his *Siyar* lists traditions from Companions and Followers, but none from the Prophet. Even Shāfi`ī, who would be eager to base his teaching about *ju`l* on the sunna of the Prophet, knows only of one tradition (in two versions) about the Prophet practicing *takhalluf* before the expedition to Tabūk (above, 4.4.4.7). On the other hand, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal incorporated much of the prophetic material concerning *ju`l* into his *Musnad* (see above, 4.4.5), as did the compilers of *al-kutub al-sitta*. These traditions

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(626) *Sharḥ*, I, 138-139. Cf. Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, IX, 27; Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, I, 277.

(627) Shaybānī, *Muwaṭṭa'*, p. 308; above, 4.4.2.1.

must therefore have entered circulation in the (very) late second and early third centuries.

The prophetic ḥadīth on this subject has its own characteristics, which make it easier to classify than the earlier material.

4.5.3.1 Juʿl

In only one instance do we find the Prophet openly declaring support for *juʿl*.

> Those of my *umma* who go on expedition and accept *juʿl* with which to fortify themselves against their enemy are like the mother of Moses as she suckled her child while accepting her wage.
>
> *Mathalu 'lladhīna yaghzūna min ummatī wa-ya'khudhūna 'l-juʿla yataqawwawna ʿalā ʿaduwwihim mathalu ummi Mūsā turḍiʿu waladahā wa-ta'khudhu ajrahā.*(628)

This tradition, which is *mursal*, probably originates in a relatively early stage of the debate. *Ajr* is used here as a parallel to *juʿl*: the sense of "wage" still predominates.

This tradition echoes Qur'ān 2:261, *mathalu 'lladhīna yunfiqūna amwālahum fī sabīli 'llāhi ka-mathali ḥabbatin....* (above, 4.3.1.1). It also incorporates the word *yataqawwā* from the maxim ascribed to Zuhrī (above, 4.5.1). Its (incomplete) isnād is Ḥimṣī.(629)

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(628) Abū Dāwūd, *Marāsīl*, p. 15 (correct *yaqra'ūna* to *yaghzūna*). Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf*, V, 347; Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, IX, 27; Al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz*, IV, 336, #10779; Ibn Qudāma, *Mughnī*, IX, 303, ll. 10-11.

(629) Jubayr ibn Nufayr al-Ḥimṣī (d. 75 or 80)--ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Jubayr ibn Nufayr al-Ḥimṣī (n.d.)--Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAyyāsh al-Ḥimṣī (d. 181 or 182)--Saʿīd ibn Manṣūr al-Makkī (d. 227)--Abū Dāwūd.

4.5.3.2 The ajīr

The sense of "hireling, camp follower" for this word has now all but disappeared. *Ajīr* now usually means recipient of *ju`l*, usually with negative connotations. *Ajr* refers both to the martyr's reward and to the fighter's (material) wage: these are now the terms of the debate. We accordingly no longer find *ju`l* mentioned unless *ajr* also appears. At times the words *ju`l* and *ja`ā'il* do not appear at all, even where the argument is about *ju`l*.

There is an important tradition reported in Abū Dāwūd's *Sunan* and elsewhere,(630) where the word *qabā'il* appears prominently. This may have been one of Balādhurī's sources. It will therefore be examined in some detail.

> [From Abū Ayyūb. The Prophet said:] The *amṣār* will be opened for you, and armies will be mustered, to which you will be summoned [for military service]. And there will be someone among you who will not wish to answer the call to the armies, and so he will withdraw from his own people, and will search through the tribes, presenting himself to them, saying: "Who will accept compensation [from me for answering] this call?" Indeed, this man [will remain] a hireling to the last drop of his blood.
>
> *Sa-tuftaḥu `alaykumu 'l-amṣāru wa-satakūnu junūdun mujannadatun tuqṭa`u `alaykum fīhā bu`ūthun fa-yakrahu 'l-rajulu minkumu 'l-ba`tha fīhā fa-yatakhallaṣu min qawmihi thumma yataṣaffaḥu 'l-qabā'ila*(631) *ya`riḍu nafsahu `alayhim yaqūlu: man akfīhi ba`tha kadhā, man akfīhi ba`tha kadhā? Alā wa-dhālika 'l-ajīru ilā ākhiri qaṭratin min damihi.*

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(630) Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, III, 35-36, #2525, *Jihad* 30; Aḥmad, *Musnad*, V, 413; Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, IX, 27; Muttaqī, *Kanz*, IV, 349, #10832.

(631) Lane translates *taṣaffaḥa 'l-qawma* as "He looked at the people, seeking for a particular man." Cf. Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1013, *Wa-kāna rasūl Allāh ṣl`m yataṣaffaḥu al-nās idhā 'nṣarafa min al-ṣubḥ*.

(632) Some versions of this text have *man akfihi* instead of *man akfīhi*. They are Bayhaqī, *loc. cit.*, and Muttaqī, *loc. cit.*. In addition, `Aẓīmābādī (*`Awn al-ma`būd*, VII, 200) notes the variant, *kadhā fī ba`ḍ al-nusakh*. The jussive might make sense as *sharṭ* of a conditional sentence having as its *jawāb* the entire phrase beginning with *alā*. However, the absence of the particle *fa-* makes the syntax of such a sentence impossible. This must simply be a question, in the imperfect (as translated above).

This text is somewhat obscure.(632) One difficulty is that we incline at first to understand *wa-dhālika al-ajīr* as noun plus demonstrative, "that hireling." However, the modern commentator ʿAẓīmābādī stated that *wa-dhālika* is subject, *al-ajīr* is predicate.(633) If this is the case, then the man who leaves his tribe, and who asks the question *man akfīhi baʿtha kadhā,* is *not* the one referred to as *wa-dhālika*. The latter must be the *ajīr* hired by the former.

The early commentators do not seem to have dealt with this problem,(634) but we may take this as the best solution: even if this (second) man fights (and dies), he remains a mere hireling, with a hireling's reward.(635)

Our soldier thus remains an *ajīr* to the last drop of his blood. A number of other traditions speak of the last drop of the martyr's blood. Thaʿālibī's version is typical:

> There is no drop dearer to God than a drop of blood [shed] in His way, or a teardrop [shed] in fear of Him in the middle of the night.

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(633) *ʿAwn al-maʿbūd* VII, 200-201.

(634) Khaṭṭābī (d. 388), whose *Maʿālim al-sunan* is quoted in *ʿAwn al-maʿbūd* and by Daʿʿās in his edition of Abū Dāwūd, does not seem to have considered this question. Mundhirī (d. 656) in his *ʿAdd al-mawdūd* did not comment on this ḥadīth (see *ʿAwn al-maʿbūd,* VII, 201), nor did al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751) in his *Tahdhīb Sunan Abī Dāwūd*. The extensive commentary by Maḥmūd Muḥammad Khaṭṭāb al-Subkī, *Al-Manhal al-ʿadhb al-mawrūd* (Cairo, 1932-35) and its *takmila* by Amīn Maḥmūd Khaṭṭāb, *Fatḥ al-malik al-maʿbūd* (Cairo, 1955-) did not reach *Kitāb al-jihād*.

(635) For Khaṭṭābī this ḥadīth constitutes proof of [the Prophet's] disapproval of *jaʿāʾil*. The meaning of this tradition, says Khaṭṭābī, seems to be that if an agreement has been made for a man to perform jihād on behalf of one who pays a wage, and if the man then performs the *farḍ* by fighting in person, then the principle of the hiring (*maʿnā al-ijāra*) becomes void. The hireling becomes one of the group of fighters, and is granted a share of the spoils (with certain qualifications). Khaṭṭābī here bases his arguments on the reasoning of the jurists, to such an extent that he neglects the ḥadīth itself. Unfortunately, he takes no notice of the word *qabāʾil*.

> *Mā min qaṭratin aḥabbu ilā 'llāhi min qaṭrati damin fī sabīlihi aw qaṭrati dam`in fī jawfi 'l-layli fī khashyatihi.*(636)

The first drop of the martyr's blood effaces his sins.(637) It also brings him to the ḥūrīs,(638) or, better, it lets him see his place in heaven, marries him to the ḥūrīs, frees him from "the greatest fear" and from "the torture of the grave," and lets him taste of the sweetness of the faith.(639) The drop of blood provides a thematic connection to our *ajīr*. Its inclusion here apparently drives home the point that these delights will be denied him.

Like the tradition about the mother of Moses, this ḥadīth has a Ḥimṣī isnād. It is particularly interesting in its beginning (the Companion Abū Ayyūb, appropriate because of his status as hero and martyr in the war against Byzantium) and its end (Ibrāhīm ibn Mahdī al-Maṣṣīṣī, proof for the diffusion of this tradition in the *thughūr*.)(640) But while this ḥadīth seems to have been made in Ḥimṣ, it does not permit us to identify a Ḥimṣī "school position" on this issue, since one Ḥimṣī tradition is clearly in favor of *ju`l*, while the other implies disapproval.

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(636) *Thimār al-qulūb*, p. 34, #24. Cf. Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, V, 377, #1669 (Jihad 26); Muttaqī, *Kanz*, IV, 410, #11155.

(637) Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Al-Mustadrak `alā al-ṣaḥīḥayn*, II, 119; cf. *Kanz*, IV, 398, #11101.

(638) Ibn Abī Shayba, V, 301.

(639) Aḥmad, *Musnad*, IV, 200; *Kanz*, IV, 410, #11152.

(640) The full chain is: Abū Ayyūb (d. 52)--Ibn Abī Ayyūb (=Abū Sawra, n.d., see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, XII, 124. He was damned by all the *rijāl* authorities except Ibn Ḥibbān. Ibn Ma`īn said that he transmitted from some other Abū Ayyūb!)--Yaḥyā ibn Jābir al-Ṭā'ī (Ḥimṣī, d. 126)--Sulaymān ibn Sulaym al-Kinānī al-Kalbī (Himsī, d. 147)--Muḥammad ibn Ḥarb (Ḥimṣī, d. 192 or 194). At this point the chain bifurcates, but it is remarkable that the next link in both versions is Ḥimṣī. Aḥmad's last link is Yazīd ibn `Abd Rabbihi (Ḥimṣī, d. 224, Ibn Ḥajar, XI, 344-345). In Abū Dāwūd and Bayhaqī, we have `Amr ibn `Uthmān ibn Sa`īd al-Qurashī, who died in the 220's and was a descendent of a mawlā of the Umayyads; he transmits to Ibrāhīm ibn Mahdī al-Maṣṣīṣī (d. 224 or 225).

We may note also that it is once again Syrians who associate *ju`l* with tribes, and thaghrīs who keep this association alive through their transmission of ḥadīth (above, 4.5.1).

`Abdallāh ibn `Amr ibn al-`Āṣ is the reporter of another Prophetic tradition on *ju`l*.(641) It has a primarily Egyptian isnād, ending with two tradents bearing the *nisba* "al-Maṣṣīṣī."(642)

> The warrior gets his reward, and the giver of *ju`l* gets his reward, plus that of the warrior.
>
> *Lil-ghāzī ajruhu wa-lil-jā`ili ajruhu wa-ajru 'l-ghāzī.*

This tradition is usually understood as permitting *ja`ā'il*.(643) However, it has a certain ambiguity. At first glance, it seems that the *ghāzī* receives only his wage (money), while the *jā`il* receives his reward (Paradise) plus that of the *ghāzī* (money?).(644) One way to solve the puzzle is to say that both receive the *ajr* of Paradise, with a double reward for the *jā`il*. Supporting this hypothesis are several traditions from the Prophet concerning double rewards: for instance, someone killed by the Rūm receives

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(641) Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, III, 36-37 (Jihad 31); Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, IX, 28; Ibn Qudāma, *Mughnī*, IX, 303, ll. 8-9.

(642) `Abdallāh ibn `Amr (d. 65 or 67; said variously to have died in Egypt, Palestine, Mecca, and Ṭā'if)--Shufayy ibn Māti` (Egyptian, d. 105)--Ḥusayn ibn Shufayy ibn Māti` (Egyptian, n.d., described as *ḍa`īf*, Ibn Ḥajar, II, 340-341)--Ḥaywa ibn Shurayḥ (Egyptian, d. 158 or 159)--al-Layth ibn Saîd (Egyptian, d. 175, founder of a *madhhab*).--['Abdallāh] ibn Wahb (Egyptian, d. 197). Ibn Wahb transmits to: 1) `Abd al-Malik ibn Shu`ayb (Egyptian, d. 248)--Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥasan al-Maṣṣīṣī (n.d.)--Abū Dāwūd, and to 2) Ḥajjāj ibn Muḥammad [al-Maṣṣīṣī] al-a'war (d. 206?)--Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥasan al-Maṣṣīṣī (n.d.)--Abū Dāwūd.

(643) In Abū Dāwūd it comes under the heading *Bāb al-rukhṣa fī akhdh al-ja`ā'il*. Khaṭṭābī understood it that way (Abū Dāwūd, III, 35, n. 1.)

(644) Ṭabarī confronts a similar conundrum in *Jāmi`*, X, 150. See above, 4.3.1.4.

the *ajr* of two martyrs.(645) Again, we do not know what this means.(646)

Another prophetic tradition has the effect of permitting *jaʿāʾil*, while limiting the *ajr* of the warrior to the money he has received.(647)

> Yaʿlā ibn Munya [also called ibn Umayya] said: "The Messenger of God called for an expedition (*ādhana bi'l-ghazw*) when I was an old man, and had no servant. I therefore sought an *ajīr* to take my place (*yakfīnī*, cf. above, *man akfīhi baʿtha kadhā*) who would receive his share from me as his wage (*wa-ujrī lahu sahmahu*). I found a man; and when the time for departure drew near, he came to me and asked if I knew what the shares were, and [said] 'what would be the amount of my share? Specify an amount, whether or not it is the [actual] amount of a share.'(648) And so I named three dinars. And when the time came for dividing the spoils, I named the [three] dinars. I went to the Prophet and mentioned his case to him. The Prophet said, 'All that I find for him for this campaign of his, both in this world and in the next, are the dinars which he specified'" (*mā ajidu [lahu] fī ghazwatihi hādhihi fī 'l-dunyā wa'l-ākhirati illā danānīrahu 'llatī sammā*).

Here we have the question of whether the *ajīr* (=servant) gets a share of the spoils, fused with the question of whether the *ajīr* (=recipient of *juʿl*) receives a heavenly reward.

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(645) Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, III, 13, #2488 (Jihad 8). See following section.

(646) To make matters worse, we have Ibn Qudāma (*Mughnī*, IX, 303, ll. 8-9) citing a different version: *lil-ghāzī ajruhu wa-lil-jāʿili ajruhu*. This has the merit of making sense: the rewards are divided, to the apparent disadvantage of the *ghāzī*. Ibn Qudāma understood this as a tradition favorable to *jaʿāʾil*, in any case. However, this variant does not appear in any of the hadīth collections or commentaries.

(647) Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, III, 37, #2527 (Jihad 32); al-Ḥākim, *Mustadrak*, II, 112; Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, VI, 331; Muttaqī, *Kanz*, IV, 336, #10781; Ibn Qudāma, *Mughnī*, IV, 303, ll. 17-21.

(648) Following Daʿʿās, who prints *al-sahm* without vowels (making it possible to read *al-sahma*), rather than the Cairo 1935 edition, which vocalizes *al-sahmu*.

(649) Yaʿlā ibn Munya--ʿAbdallāh ibn Fīrūz al-Daylamī (n.d., lived in Jerusalem, included among the "*tābiʿīs* of the Syrians," Ibn Ḥajar, V, 358-359)--Yaḥyā ibn Abī ʿAmr al-Saybānī (Ḥimṣī, a nephew of Awzāʿī, d. 148)--ʿĀṣim ibn Ḥākim (Egyptian, d. 144 or 156 or 157)--ʿAbdallāh ibn Wahb (Egyptian, d. 197)--Aḥmad ibn Ṣāliḥ [known as Ibn al-Ṭabarī] (Egyptian, d. 248)--Abū Dāwūd.

The isnād of this tradition brings together Egypt and Ḥimṣ.(649) The Egyptian Ibn Wahb is a link both in this chain and in that of the preceding tradition. Ibn Wahb was a follower of Mālik, who reportedly called him *faqīh Miṣr*.(650) However, one cannot describe this ḥadīth as consonant with the Mālikī position, which condemns *ju'l* outright.

What these five traditions do show is that the debate on *ju'l* and the *ajīr* continues only in Syria and, to some extent, Egypt. The Iraqi and Hijazi traditionists have no interest in prophetic hadīth of this sort, being preoccupied with traditions about *takhalluf*. Conversely, Syrians do not figure in the isnāds of *takhalluf* traditions. Furthermore, it is only these (Syrian) traditions about *ju'l* which find their way to the *thughūr* (as we can see from these three tradents with the *nisba* "al-Maṣṣīṣī").

4.5.3.3 Ajr al-shahīd

A number of traditions, not directly concerned with *ja'ā'il*, give more details on the *ajr* of the martyr.

One who dies *murābiṭan fī sabīl Allāh* receives the same *ajr* as a martyr.(651) This is consonant with the position of Shāfi'ī (above, 4.4.4.7).

We have seen that a warrior who dies fighting the Rūm receives a double reward (previous section). In similar fashion, a sea fighter prostrate from seasickness receives a martyr's reward; if he drowns, he receives double.(652)

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(650) Ibn Ḥajar, VI, 74; Sezgin, GAS, I, 466.

(651) Muttaqī, *Kanz*, IV, 324-327, nos. 10723, 10726, 10734, 10736. One of these (#10736), stresses the financial metaphor: *wa-yuqṭa'u lahu bi-rizqin min al-jannati.*

(652) Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, III, 15-16, #2493 (Jihad 10); *Kanz*, IV, 400, #11114. The isnād is Syrian.

Is God required to give this *ajr* to those who perish on an expedition? In a ḥadīth with a Syrian isnād, the Prophet answers affirmatively.(653) In the case of a Muslim fighter who dies a non-combatant death, Paradise is also required (*wajabat lahu al-janna*).(654) However, this tradition (which has a mixed, partly Syrian isnād) adds the element of intention. It continues:

> And whoever truthfully asks God for death [in battle], and then dies or is killed, receives the martyr's reward.
>
> *Wa-man sa'ala 'llāha 'l-qatla min `indi nafsihi ṣādiqan thumma māta aw qutila fa-lahu ajru shahīdin.*

The element of intention prevails in other traditions of this sort. `Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb is asked about the *ajr* of those who perish on an expedition (is it incumbent on God?). `Umar gives a long, careful answer, dividing the mujāhidūn according to their intentions. The true *shuhadā'* are those who fight *ibtighā'a wajhi 'llāhi* ("for the sake of God").(655) We then find the Prophet making a clear pronouncement:

> If someone goes on expedition only with the intention [of obtaining] *`iqāl*, then he receives what he intended.
>
> *Man ghazā wa-huwa lā yanwī illā 'l-`iqālata fa-lahu mā nawā.*(656)

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(653) Al-Ḥākim, *Mustadrak*, II, 74. Abū Umāma al-Bāhilī [Sudayy ibn `Ijlān] (d. 86)--Sulaymān ibn Ḥabīb al-Dimashqī al-qāḍī (d. 126)--al-Awzā`ī (d. 157)--Abū Mushir `Abd al-A`lā ibn Mushir al-Ghassānī al-Dimashqī (d. 218)--Sammāk ibn `Abd al-Ṣamad (n.d.)--Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Bazzāz (Baghdādī, d. 276).

(654) *Mustadrak*, II, 77. Ma`ādh ibn Jabal ibn `Amr ibn Aws al-Anṣārī (d. 17)--Mālik ibn Yakhāmir (Ḥimṣī, d. 70 or 72)--Sulaymān ibn Mūsā al-Umawī al-Dimashqī (d. 115)--Ibn Jurayj (Meccan, d. 150)--Rawḥ ibn `Ubāda [not `Ubād, see Ibn Ḥajar, III, 293-296] (Basran, d. 205 or 207)--Qilāba [`Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad] al-Raqāshī [not al-Rāqashī, see Ibn Ḥajar, VI, 419-421] (Baghdādī, d. 276!)--Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥamdān. This tradition also occurs in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad (V, 243-244), where the text adds: "even if he dies on his bed."

(655) `Abdallāh ibn al-Mubārak, *Kitāb al-jihād*, p. 33; al-Ḥākim, *Mustadrak*, II, 108-109.

(656) *Mustadrak*, II, 109.

If *ʿiqāl* here means the poor-rate, the *ṣadaqa*, then we may have here an indirect reference to the practice of *juʿl*. In any case, this principle applies not only to worldly goods, but also to worldly honor: a man who fights out of a desire for *ʿirḍ al-dunyā* receives no *ajr*.(657)

4.5.3.4 *Ḥumlān*

This is the practice of providing mounts to mujāhidūn who cannot afford them. In Qur'ān 9:91-92 (above, 4.3.2) it is closely associated with *takhalluf*--that is, involuntary *mukhallafūn* may be helped in this way. *Ḥumlān* amounts to much the same thing as donations, and while these two things are distinct in their origins, they fuse together in the hadīth.

ʿUmar ibn al-Khattāb is associated with this practice (above, 4.5.2.1). He once found that a horse which he had donated was being sold on the market. He wished to buy it, but the Prophet instructed him not to do so. The tradition is Medinese.(658)

Another (prophetic) tradition names no Companions at all, while deliberately evoking the circumstances of Qur'ān 9:92.

> A man came to the Prophet and said: "My camel has become jaded. Give me a fresh one!" (*innī ubdiʿa bī fa'ḥmilnī*). He answered, "I have none." A man then said, "Messenger of God, I will show him someone who can give him a mount." Whereupon the Messenger of God said, "Whoever shows [the way to] a good deed receives the same reward as the one who performs it" (*man dalla ʿalā khayrin fa-lahu mithlu ajri fāʿilihi*.(659)

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(657) *Mustadrak*, II, 85.

(658) Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 241 (Jihad 119); Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, XII, 87. Ibn ʿUmar (reporting about his father)--Nāfiʿ (d. 117)--Mālik--Ismāʿīl [ibn Abī Uways?]. Another version, substantially the same, has ʿUmar (reporting for himself)--[Abū Usāma] Aslam al-ʿAdawī (d. 80)--Zayd ibn Aslam (Medinese, d. 136)--Mālik--Sufyān--Ḥumaydī.

(659) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, 1506 (Imāra 133); Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, IX, 28 (two versions).

Ajr did not appear in earlier material on donations and *ḥumlān*. But equally strange is the fact that the isnād of this ḥadīth is Kufan.(660)

4.5.3.5 Takhalluf

This notion continues to grow in complexity. In its Qur'ānic origins, it refers to (or derives from) the practice of staying home instead of going to war. Under certain circumstances, it is possible to have a legitimate excuse (ʿ*udhr*) for doing this. Among those who claimed such an excuse was the Prophet himself, who frequently stayed in Medina while the expeditions went out. He gives his reasons in a ḥadīth which seems intended as a justification for *takhalluf* in general.

> Were it not for my anxiety over my *umma*, I would never stay behind from any raid; however, [*Fatḥ al-bārī*: I cannot find a mount and] I cannot find mounts for them [Qur'ān 9:92], and they are grieved if they have to lag behind me. And I wish I could fight in the way of God, be killed and then resurrected, and then fight, be killed, and resurrected.(661)

In earlier ḥadīth, the practice of sending one of every two, four, or whatever, with those remaining being made responsible for keeping the fighter equipped and supplied, was grafted onto this general notion of *takhalluf*. This practice was first associated with Ibn ʿAbbās and with ʿUmar (above, 4.4.3.3; 4.5.2.2). Now we find the Prophet taking responsibility for it.

> [The Prophet] sent a levy of soldiers from Hudhayl against the Banū Liḥyān, and said: "Let one of every two men join the expedition. They will share the *ajr* between them" (*Li-yanbaʿith min*

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(660) Abū Masʿūd al-Anṣārī [ʿUqba ibn ʿAmr ibn Thaʿlaba] (d. 40, in Kufa or Medina)--Abū ʿAmr al-Saybānī [Saʿd ibn Iyās] (Kufan, d. 95 or 96)--al-Aʿmash [Sulaymān ibn Mihrān al-Asadī] (Kufan, d. 148)--Abū Muʿāwiya [Muḥammad ibn Khāzim al-Tamīmī al-Saʿdī] (Kufan, d. 195). Abū Muʿāwiya reports to 1) Abū Kurayb Muḥammad ibn al-ʿAlā' ibn Kurayb al-Kūfī (d. 248), and 2) Ibn Abī ʿUmar [Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Abī ʿUmar al-ʿAdanī] (d. 243 in Mecca).

(661) Ibn Abī Shayba, V, 288-289; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 241 (Jihad 119); Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, XII, 87.

kulli rajulayni aḥadun wa'l-ajru baynahumā).(662)

The various isnāds are predominantly Basran.(663) Does *ajr* here indicate (worldly) wage? We find interpolations made, with the usual quibbling on this word.

> [As above] Then the Messenger of God said, "O God, bless us according to our measure, and make the blessing twofold" (*Alla-humma bārik lanā fī maddinā wa-ṣā'inā wa'j'ali 'l-barakata bara-katayni*).(664)

Elsewhere we find yet another interpolation.

> [The Prophet said] to the one who stayed behind: "Whoever of the two of you takes the place of the one who leaves, [taking care of] his family and possesions, will receive half the *ajr* of the one who leaves.
>
> *Wa-qāla lil-qā'idi ayyukumā khalafa 'l-khārija fī ahlihi wa-mālihi bi-khayrin kāna lahu mithlu nisfi ajri 'l-khāriji*.(665)

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(662) Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ, III, 1507 (Imāra 137); Aḥmad, *Musnaf*, III, 49; Muttaqī, *Kanz*, IV, 436, #11291; Ibn Ḥazm, *Muḥallā*, VII, 291.

(663) In Muslim there are three: 1) Abū Sa'īd al-Khuḍrī--Abū Sa'īd mawlā al-Mihrī (n.d., Ibn Ḥajar, XII, 111)--Yaḥyā [ibn Abī Kathīr] (d. 129 or 132, Ibn Ḥajar XI, 268. There is confusion here, because this Yaḥyā is said to transmit from one Abū Shu'ba mawlā al-Mihrī; whereas Abū Yazīd mawlā al-Mihrī is said to transmit to Yaḥyā ibn Abī Isḥāq.)--al-Ḥusayn al-Mu'allim--'Abd al-Wārith ibn Sa'īd [not Abū 'l-Wārith] (Basran, d. 179, Ibn Ḥajar, VI, 441-443)--'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn 'Abd al-Wārith ibn Sa'īd (Basran, d. 206 or 207)--Isḥāq ibn Manṣūr al-Marwazī (d. 251 in Nishapur). 2) Abū Sa'īd al-Khuḍrī--Abū Sa'īd mawlā al-Mihrī--'Alī ibn al-Mubārak (Basran, d. last quarter of second century. Ibn Ḥajar, VII, 375-376, says he had the books of Yaḥyā ibn Abī Kathīr)--Ismā'īl ibn 'Ulayya [=ibn Ibrāhīm] (Basran, d. 193 or 194)--Zuhayr ibn Harb [Abū Khaythama] (d. 234 in Baghdad). 3) Al-Khuḍrī--Abū Sa'īd mawlā al-Mihrī--Shaybān [ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nahawī] (Basran, lived in Kufa and Baghdad, d. 164, Ibn Ḥajar, IV, 373-374)--'Ubaydallāh ibn Mūsā (Kufan, d. 213 or 214)--Isḥāq ibn Manṣūr. Aḥmad (III, 49) has: Abū Sa'īd al-Khuḍrī--Abū Sa'īd mawlā al-Mihrī--Yaḥyā ibn Abī Kathīr--Ḥarb ibn Shaddād [?] (Basran, d. 161, Ibn Ḥajar, II, 224)--'Abd al-Raḥmān [ibn Mahdī] al-Baṣrī al-Lu'lu'ī (d. 198).

(664) Aḥmad, *Musnad*, III, 34-35, Basran isnād as at III, 49. See also III, 91.

(665) Aḥmad, *Musnad*, III, 55. The interpolation appears to be Egyptian. Al-Khuḍrī--Abū Sa'īd mawlā al-Mihrī--Yazīd ibn Abī Sa'īd (Marwazī, Ibn Ḥajar, XI, 332, probably a mistake for Yaḥyā)--Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb al-Miṣrī (Egyptian, d. 128)--['Abdallāh] Ibn Lahī'a (Egyptian, d.

Here we have yet another sense of the root *khalafa* grafted onto this already quite entangled outgrowth of the hadīth. *Khalaftuhu* means, according to Lane, "I was, after him, a substitute for him, I supplied his place." Similarly, *khalafa fulānan fī ahlihi* means "He became his *khalīfa* among, or in respect of, his family." This phrase occurs once in the Qur'ān, when Moses asks Aaron to perform this office for him.(666) It is applied in the case of someone who has died: *khalafa 'llāhu laka bi-khayrin*, "may God give thee good in the place of that which has gone from thee."

This sense of the verb *khalafa* becomes mixed in the ḥadīth with the other one, *takhallafa* (the simple form *khalafa* is also allowed) *`an al-qawm*, "he remained behind, or after, the people, or party, not going with them." The Prophet expressed this "enlarged" notion of *takhalluf* in a hadīth which circulated widely.

> Whoever equips a warrior has [in effect] gone to war himself, and whoever takes his place [acts as guardian] for his family, has gone to war himself.
>
> *Man jahhaza ghāziyan [fī sabīli 'llāhi] fa-qad ghazā wa-man khalafa ghāziyan fī ahlihi [bi-khayrin] fa-qad ghazā.*(667)

The isnāds are both Basran and Medinese.(668)

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174)--`Abdallāh [ibn al-Mubārak?]--`Attāb [or `Atāb, ibn Ziyād al-Marwazī] (n.d., Ibn Ḥajar, VII, 92, where he transmits to Aḥmad).

(666) 7:142, *Wa-qāla Mūsā li-Hārūna 'khlufnī fī qawmī wa-aṣliḥ wa-lā tattabi` sabīla 'l-mufsidīn.*

(667) Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III, 1506, 1507 (Imāra 135); Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, III, 35-36 (Jihad 21), #2509; further at Wensinck, *Concordance*, I, 391.

(668) Muslim, III, 1507: Zayd ibn Khālid al-Juhanī (Medinese, some say Kufan, d. 78, Ibn Ḥajar, III, 410-411)--Busr ibn Sa`īd (Medinese, d. 100)--Abū Salāma [Ibn `Abd al-Raḥmān] (Medinese, d. 94 or 104, Ibn Ḥajar, XI, 115-118)--Yaḥyā ibn Abī Kathīr (see above)--Ḥusayn al-Mu`allim--Yazīd ibn Zuray` (Basran, d. 182)--Abū 'l-Rabī` al-Zahrānī [Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd] (Basran, d. 234). Muslim III, 1506: Zayd--Busr--Bukayr ibn al-Ashajj (Medinese, d. 117 or 120)--`Amr ibn al-Ḥārith (Medinese, went to Egypt, d. 147 or 148)--`Abdallāh ibn Wahb (Egyptian, d. 197)--Sa`īd ibn Manṣūr.

Elsewhere we find further refinements. In a Medinese tradition of ʿUmar, the Prophet says:

> Whoever shades the head of a warrior will be shaded by God on the Judgement Day; and whoever equips a warrior so that he has enough (*ḥattā yastaqilla bi-jahāzihi*, cf. Shāfiʿī, above, 4.4.4.4), will receive a similar reward [to the warrior's].(669)

The presence of ʿUmar indicates an assimilation to *ḥumlān* (above, 4.5.3.3). This assimilation becomes more apparent in a story according to which a man came to the Prophet seeking help. The Prophet sent him off to someone else who had the outfit, but had fallen sick.(670)

Takhalluf and *ḥumlān* thus tend to become one thing; between them they account for a much larger number of prophetic traditions than does *juʿl*. From the isnāds we may detect interest in this issue in Kufa and Basra, as well as in Medina. But while *takhalluf* (understood to include *ḥumlān*) became the usual subject of debate, everywhere except Syria, the issue of *ajr* entered that debate, just as it became crucial to the (Syrian) discussions of *jaʿā'il*.

The rules for *takhalluf* became more detailed:

> The wives of the *mujāhidūn* are forbidden to the *qāʿidūn*, just as their own mothers are forbidden to them. If any one of the *qāʿidūn* who has undertaken to act as guardian (*khalafa...fī ahlihi*) for one of the *mujāhidūn*, then deceives him with respect to them [the wives], he will be made to stand on the Judgement Day, and he will receive for his deed...(671)

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(669) Al-Ḥākim, *Mustadrak*, II, 89.

(670) Bayhaqī, *Sunan*, IX, 28. The phrasing has been altered to *wa-laysa maʿī mā atajahhazu bihi* from the Qur'ānic *iḥmilnī*.

(671) Muslim, III, 1508 (Imāra 139). The end seems corrupt, *wuqifa lahu yawma 'l-qiyāmati fa-ya'khudhu min ʿamalihi ma shā'a fa-mā ẓannukum?* Cf. Wāqidī, III, 1021, *wa-laqad fuḍḍila nisā' al-mujāhidīn ʿalā 'l-qāʿidīn*.

4.5.4 Tabūk: the Literary Origins of Takhalluf

It will be recalled that when the Kufans added the one-of-several principle to their defenses against the attacks then being mounted against *ja`ā'il*, they built this notion onto traditions of `Umar and of Ibn `Abbās concerning *takhalluf* (above, 4.4.3.3, 4.5.2.2). Where did this combination of ideas come from? We have seen that Ibn `Abbās in the tafsīr shows an interest in the matter of *takhalluf* (in the simplest sense of staying at home when there is a battle going on, above, 4.3.2). But we also know that *takhalluf* is a theme of the *sīra* and *maghāzī* literature in its treatment of the expedition to Tabūk. We must next look here for the sources of this material.

Mālik, in stating his opposition to *ju`l*, said that there were no grounds for believing that the Prophet ever established such a custom after Ḥunayn; and if he did so, this was "an established matter mentioned by no one."(672) We may detect a defensive attitude here: someone seems to be saying that some such thing did happen; and while Mālik does not refute him outright, he remains suspicious.

There is nothing in the accounts of the battle of Ḥunayn in Wāqidī or Ibn Hishām relating to such events.(673) However, the accounts of the next (and last) of the Prophet's expeditions, that of Tabūk, are replete with references to *takhalluf*.(674) This may explain Mālik's discomfort.

Shāfi`ī developed a theory of *takhalluf*, according to which every other man in the *ribāṭ al-jihād* may be sent on expedition (above, 4.4.4.7). Shāfi`ī based this one-of-two rule on a tradition according to which the

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(672) *Mudawwana*, III, 31; above, 4.4.2.2.

(673) Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 885-922; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, 840-857.

(674) Wāqidī, III, 989-1078; Ibn Hishām, II, 840-857. *Ju`l* itself does not appear here.

Prophet applied this rule to the Muslims while preparing for the expedition against Tabūk. This is the only prophetic tradition bearing upon the question of *ju`l* (in a large sense) of which Shāfi`ī shows any knowledge (above, 4.4.4.7, 4.5.4.1).

Takhalluf is indeed a main preoccupation of Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām in their accounts of Tabūk. This expedition provides *asbāb al-nuzūl* for practically all of *Sūrat al-tawba*.(675) The Prophet here shows a strong interest in the matter: he distributes permissions for staying home;(676) while on campaign, he laments the fact that "*muhājirūn* from Quraysh and the Anṣār and Ghifār and Aslam should stay behind."(677) The fortunes of various *mukhallafūn* are described in detail and at length.

However, Shāfi`ī's understanding of these events does not correspond to that of Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām. For Shāfi`ī, it was the Prophet himself who applied the one-of-two rule before Tabūk. In Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām, there is pressure on all able-bodied males to join this expedition; those who fail to do so later become social outcasts.(678) Moreover, in Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām the Prophet does not exert this pressure by himself. We find wealthy members of the community taking it upon themselves to equip and supply the army.

> Those who had wealth desired to perform good deeds (*al-khayr wa'l-ma`rūf*), and they considered this to be a good deed. Accordingly, a man would bring a camel to a man or two men, and say, "This camel is for the two of you, to take turns riding it" (*hādhā 'l-ba`īru baynakumā tata`āqabānihi*). And a man would bring *nafaqa* and would give it to someone who was setting

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(675) Wāqidī, III, 1022-1025, 1070-1076.

(676) Wāqidī, III, 992-994.

(677) *An yatakhallafa `annī.* Wāqidī, III, 1002; Ibn Hishām, II, 966 (tr. Guillaume, p. 609).

(678) See especially the story of Ka`b ibn Mālik, Wāqidī, III, 1050-1056; Ibn Hishām, 908-914.

out.(679)

This amounts to *ḥumlān* and donations. We also find this procedure followed by al-ʿAbbās and ʿUthmān, who give mounts to two and three men, respectively.(680)

Elsewhere, the Prophet enters the picture, by ordering people to bring *ṣadaqa*, apparently to equip the army. Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and al-ʿAbbās vie with one another in their contributions; ʿUthmān wins the contest by equipping (*jahhaza*) a third of the army.(681) It will be noticed that this large-scale receiving and distributing of *ṣadaqa* is difficult to reconcile with the one-to-several arrangements described in the preceding paragraph.

Shāfiʿī thus differs from Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām in his understanding of the Prophet's *takhalluf*. But we may also detect discrepancies between the latter two authors. When the Prophet laments the fact that certain men of Quraysh, the Anṣār, etc., have stayed behind (see above), he says, in Ibn Hishām's version, "What prevented one of these when he fell out from mounting a zealous man in the way of God on one of his camels?"(682) Wāqidī reports the same phrase, but adds: "so that he would receive a reward similar to that of the one who set out" (*fa-yakūnu lahu mithlu ajri 'l-khāriji*).(683) Here a new element has been added, the *ajr* so familiar from the hadīth.

Elsewhere we read the following passage in Ibn Hishām.

> The apostle left ʿAlī behind to look after his family, and ordered him to stay with them (*khallafa...wa-amarahu bi'l-iqāma fīhim*). The hypocrites spoke evil of him, saying that he had

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(679) Wāqidī, III, 991.

(680) Wāqidī, III, 994.

(681) Wāqidī, III, 991; cf. Ibn Hishām, II, 895.

(682) Ibn Hishām, II, 906 (tr. Guillaume, p. 609).

(683) Wāqidī, III, 1002.

> been left behind because he was a burden to the apostle and he wanted to get rid of him. On hearing this `Alī seized his weapons and caught up with the apostle when he was halting in al-Jurf and repeated to him what the hypocrites were saying. He replied, "They lie. I left you behind because of what I had left behind, so go back and represent me in my family and yours. Are you not content, `Alī, to stand to me as Aaron stood to Moses, except that there will be no prophet after me? (*kadhabū wa-lakinnī khallaftuka li-mā taraktu warā'ī fa'rji` fa'khlufnī fī ahlī wa-ahlika afa-lā tarḍā `Aliyyun an takūna minnī bi-manzilati Hārūna min Mūsā illā annahu lā nabiyya ba`dī*).(684)

This is a clear reference to Qur'ān 7:14 (see above, 4.5.4.1). It seems that this sense of *khalafa* occurs nowhere else in Wāqidī or Ibn Hishām. But more important is the fact that this passage is lacking altogether in Wāqidī. We may perhaps ascribe the discrepancy to Ibn Isḥāq's *tashayyu`*.(685) But at the same time, the partisan character of this passage gives a clue to the nature of the *takhalluf* material in the *sīra* and *maghāzī* literature. We have already seen Abū Bakr, `Umar, and `Uthmān donating large sums as *ṣadaqa*, with `Uthmān giving most; we have also seen *ḥumlān* practiced by both `Uthmān and al-`Abbās, with the latter winning out.

In short, we have the endless debate of the partisans of `Alids, Umayyads, and `Abbāsids, expressed here in terms of their participation in the expedition to Tabūk.(686) *Takhalluf* is thematically associated with that campaign, very likely because it was the first Muslim attack on a Byzantine position. This theme and the traditions woven around it grow in complexity both in *sīra* and in hadīth. From Mālik's suspicious comments, we may surmise that this material was taking shape during his lifetime.(687) But in any case, the *sīra* and *maghāzī* literature seems no more stable in this instance

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(684) Ibn Hishām, II, 897 (tr. Guillaume, p. 604).

(685) Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 120.

(686) *Ibid.*, II, 89-125.

(687) Ibn Isḥāq died in 150, Mālik in 179.

than does the ḥadīth.

4.5.4.1 Banū Liḥyān and Tabūk

The prophetic hadīth does not make matters simpler. For the traditions of the Prophet which describe a one-of-two rule are not set in the campaign against Tabūk at all, but rather in the (earlier) campaign against the Banū Liḥyān (above, 4.5.3.5). There is nothing in the accounts of this campaign in Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām to indicate such a connection,(688) unless it is the detail that the Prophet tried to disguise his move against the Bānu Liḥyān as an attack on Byzantine Syria.(689)

On the other hand, there are traditions about *takhalluf* and *ʿudhr* which did not find their way into Wāqidī or Ibn Hishām under any guise.(690)

4.6 Conclusion

4.6.1 Development of Juʿl: Summary

Sarakhsī ends one of his discussions of *jaʿāʾil* with a lament.

> It is best for a man to share with the people of his own locality in giving [money] to the recipients (*iʿṭāʾ al-nāʾiba*). But such a practice, whereby [*juʿl*] was intended as aid for pious purposes (*iʿāna ʿalā ʾl-ṭāʿa*), used to exist in those former days; whereas in our times, most of the contributions are extortionate. [*yūjadu akthar al-nawāʾib bi-ṭarīq al-ẓulm*]. [Therefore,] if a person is able to keep this oppression [extortion, *ẓulm*] at bay,

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(688) Wāqidī, I, 349, 350, 354, 356, 535-537; Ibn Hishām, II, 718-719.

(689) Wāqidī, II, 536, *wa-huwa yuẓhiru annahu yurīdu al-Shām*.

(690) In one of these, reported by Jābir and Anas, the Prophet speaks of a group in Medina who avoid taking part in the war; the reason is *ḥabasahum al-ʿudhr*. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, 210-211 (Jihad 35); III, 183 (Maghāzī 81); Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, III, 25, #2508 (Jihad 20); Aḥmad, *Musnad*, III, 103; cf. Muttaqī, *Kanz*, IV, 337, #10784, 10785; Wensinck, *Concordance*, I, 412. In only a few instances is the detail added that the Prophet said this as he was returning from the Tabūk expedition: Bukhārī, III, 1183 (Maghāzī 81) and the first of the three versions at Bukhārī, III, 210-211 (Jihad 35).

> it is better for him. But if he wishes to make a donation, he should make it to someone who is incapable of keeping this oppression at bay, and who [is incapable of] providing the money because of his poverty. In this way, he [the giver] will help in warding off the oppression, and will obtain his reward (*thawāb*).(691)

We see here that *ju`l* eventually became a pretext for extortion. It may also have become a largely theoretical subject fairly early on. But in its origins it reflects a real problem.

The Umayyads and `Abbāsids both made use of soldiers who, for whatever reasons (see following section) were not inscribed on the *dīwān* and did not receive *`aṭā'*. These men had to be paid; and at some point the need arose for legal justification for these payments. The poem by the Khārijī `Īsā ibn Fātik shows that the word *ja`ā'il* could be used in the reign of Mu`āwiya as a derogatory term referring to wages of mercenaries. (The Basran soldiers were, of course, not necessarily mercenaries in the eyes of anyone but the Khārijīs.)

At the same time, the concept of *ji`āla*, a one-to-one payment which a man made to another who took his place in the army, also seems to have been current in the early Umayyad period. Attesting to this are the poem attributed to Shaqīq ibn Sulayk, and the preoccupation of the *tābi`īs* with this issue in much of the ḥadīth.

At some point, under circumstances which remain obscure, these two notions, separate in their origins, combined into one. This new hybrid posed problems which the jurists took on gladly. But while discussion centered on the "individual" sense of *ju`l*, the "communal" or "governmental" sense was also present and, in fact, likely to have been the true cause of the debate. The early system, whereby Arab warriors had their names inscribed on the

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(691) Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, X, 21, ll. 6-10.

dīwān, had probably failed to meet the needs of the Umayyad government.

Certain early jurists seem to have connected the practice of (non-ʿ*aṭā'*) payments with the law of hire, according to which the word *juʿl* had a distinct, technical sense (above, 4.4.6). The fact that the word *jaʿā'il* was already in use, referring to payments made by individuals to other individuals to take their place in the army, would have made the connection that much easier. The assimilation to the law of hire, itself the result of a legal analogy, is likely to have been the work of the *ahl al-ra'y*: supporting this hypothesis is the consistent Kufan/early Hanafī position in favor of *jaʿā'il*.

And so we find pronouncements on military *jaʿā'il*, mostly in favor, from jurists of the *tābiʿī* generation. Traditions also appear attributing the practice and the teaching to Companions. Hire is a procedure which takes place between individuals; and accordingly, these *tābiʿī*s and *ṣaḥābī*s speak of *juʿl* as a one-to-one arrangement, whereby a man would hire another to take his place in the army. The Kufans constructed a bulwark of such traditions in favor of *jaʿā'il*.

This structure proved vulnerable. Mālik, who condoned the practice of giving donations to the *mujāhidūn*, rejected *juʿl* on the basis of sunna (or lack thereof). For the early Mālikīs the idea of *takhalluf* came to absorb those of donations and *ḥumlān*. They thus found a way to advocate payments made to the mujāhidūn. But for those who retained an interest in *juʿl*, it was theological objections, which we find reflected in the ḥadīth, which proved more devastating. God's promise of heaven to the martyrs is not a payment or a commodity. In the ḥadīth we find much quibbling over the word *ajr*, as a reflection of this tension.

Meanwhile, there arose another solution to more or less the same problem. It is impossible to say when the concept of *takhalluf* entered the picture (probably quite early). *Takhalluf* has the advantage of being mentioned many times in the Qur'ān (even if its meaning is not always clear); whereas *juʿl* never appears there at all. It is also a notoriously elastic concept. The Kufans seem simply to have borrowed traditions of *takhalluf*, which for them included a one-of-several principle, and to have incorporated these traditions into their own defense of *jaʿā'il*, without bothering over the inconsistencies which arose. As a result of all this, Medina and Iraq, following different paths, found different solutions to the problem.

With the prophetic ḥadīth, the situation changes again. By the time this material enters circulation, *juʿl* seem to have lost much of its appeal, in every province except Syria (and to some extent, Egypt). In Syria a debate continues over *jaʿā'il*, with the Prophet made to express positions both for and against. But here the issues of *ajr* and the *ajīr* predominate. The word *ajīr*, which usually refers to a hired servant or camp follower, now becomes a (usually derogatory) term for the recipient of *juʿl*. We thus have, in Syria, a debate over the theological consequences of what may have remained a real issue.

It should also be noted that the association of *juʿl* with *qabā'il*, as we see reflected in Balādhurī, appears only in Syrian traditions, which then come to hold a particular interest for scholars in the *thughūr*.

Elsewhere, however, *juʿl* dropped out of the ḥadīth in favor of *takhalluf*, which became a growth industry both in hadīth and in *maghāzī*. The issue of *ajr* also entered these traditions. Prophetic traditions with Iraqi, Medinese, and (sometimes) Egyptian isnāds dealt with *takhalluf* in its nuances.

The close connection with *Sūrat al-tawba* and the *sīra* and *maghāzī* literature made this a subject of research in religious scholarship, while the connection with actual warfare must have broken off completely. For *takhalluf* has little to do with the historical conditions of warfare in the ʿAbbāsid period. Its importance is theological: it emerges together with, and is inseparable from, the idea of *farḍ kifāya*.

But at the same time, nothing is lost, especially to the compilers of dictionaries. *Jaʿāʾil* and *takhalluf* finally coalesce into one hybrid notion: hence the phrase *tajāʿala al-nās baynahum ʿinda al-baʿth*, which echoes Balādhurī's phrase about the *qabāʾil*. Here the notion of *juʿl* has come to involve the entire community, while dividing it into small groups.

While this ḥadīth continued to proliferate, the jurists continued to record and disseminate the older teachings. Shāfiʿī was the first to attempt anything like a theory of *juʿl*, and his comments form the basis of subsequent discussions, such as that of Sarakhsī. In rejecting one-to-one payments, and recognizing only *juʿl* paid by the *sulṭān*, Shāfiʿī confirmed the true reason for this practice: to provide for all those who wish to take part in the jihād. This insight on Shāfiʿī's part is inseparable from the idea of *farḍ kifāya*, which seems to have been developing at the very same time.

However, the teachings of the various schools, together with the hadīth itself, have kept in place many of the remnants of earlier attempts and solutions, in complicated patterns which, it is hoped, this chapter will have begun to unravel.

4.6.2 Appendix: The Soldiers of al-Jazīra

Throughout this discussion of *ju`l*, it has been maintained that *ju`l* and *`aṭā'* were not only different, but incompatible. But if we return to our passage from Balādhurī, we find a problem: for here it appears that the garrison of Malaṭya received both forms of payment. It is conceivable, however, that these payments were intended for different groups of soldiers. Balādhurī himself provides backing for this theory, when he informs us that the garrisons of al-Maṣṣīṣa and al-Hārūniyya (dating from about the same time as that of Malaṭya) contained separate groupings of *jund* and *muṭṭawwi`a*.(692)

Furthermore, Balādhurī's phrasing, with its use of the imperfect (*yatajā`aluhu*) seems like a gloss. *Ju`l* may already have become an abstruse subject; and a more practical point such as its compatibility with *`aṭā'* would easily have been lost in the maze.

The other historical sources provide little information on the practice of *ju`l*. We do know, however, that the Umayyads used large numbers of non-Muslim troops (notably Armenians), whom they paid in silver. These payments are said to have ended under al-Manṣūr (above, 3.4.1). Furthermore, under the first `Abbāsid caliphs, there was disagreement and competition over who would be included on the *dīwān* (and thereby receive *`aṭā'*). Malaṭya, Mar`ash, Adhana and Qālīqalā were garrisoned, wholly or partly, by Jazīran Arabs (above, 2.6.3-5); these would have been included on the *dīwān*, as they had been under the previous regime. Dionysius of Tell Maḥrē allows a glimpse into some of the changes in the fortunes of the Arabs of al-Jazīra which took place during the reign of al-Manṣūr.

> `Abbās [the governor of al-Jazīra] envoya des lettres dans toutes les villes pour ordonner aux Arabes de la Mésopotamie de descendre tous, grands et petits, à Harran.

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(692) *Futūḥ*, pp. 166, 171; above, 4.4.4.2.

> Ils se réunirent donc et descendaient, en abandonnant leurs récoltes sans les moissoner, car ils étaient pressés de gagner des zouz....Ils attendirent longtemps, jusqu'à ce que leur récolte fût perdue et détruite; il assigna environ six cents hommes d'entre eux aux forteresses et envoya le reste. Ils ne remportèrent chez eux que des pertes.(693)

We have no indication here if the 600 men who did go to the fortresses were settled there permanently; although this seems to have been the case.(694) But what is most striking about this passage is that it presents the Arabs of Mesopotamia as peasants settled on the land. They are eager to abandon this status by becoming soldiers ("ils étaient pressés de gagner des zouz"), and evidently retain enough military skills to be of use to the authorities. We may therefore surmise that their conversion to the status of peasants is of fairly recent date. But peasants they are, and for the most part, peasants they remain.

Elsewhere we find an explanation of how this came about.

> A cette époque, une cruelle épreuve pesait sur le peuple des Syriens. Ils n'avaient point à travailler, parce que leurs terres étaient vendues par les Arabes, car ceux-ci ne recevant plus le tribut qu'on avait coutume de leur donner, vendirent les terres et les grains et travaillèrent pour eux-mêmes, de sorte que tout trafic cessa pour les paysans.(695)

The Jazīran Arabs were losing their military subsidies, and were having to sell their land and work (part of it) themselves, thereby pushing their Syrian (Christian) tenants off the land.(696) But this also means that recipi-

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(693) Dionysius, pp. 89-90.

(694) Von Sivers, "Taxes and Trade," p. 75; Haldon and Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier," pp. 107f.

(695) Dionysius, p. 82. Cf. Cahen, "Fiscalité," pp. 145-146.

(696) The stream of unemployed or migrant workers which this process created must have swollen the ranks of the *ṣaʿālīk* (above, 2.9.2). Indeed, in one instance we find such refugees welcomed by a Byzantine fortress commander, and invited to stay, no doubt as some sort of auxiliary force. Dionysius, p. 75.

ents of *ʿaṭāʾ* were now being denied this privilege. Unfortunately, Dionysius does not locate these events any more precisely than to the (long) reign of al-Manṣūr. But the issue of *juʿl* may have arisen here (and later been recalled by Balādhurī) to meet an emergency which these changes had created.

Chapter V

SCHOLARS AND SAINTS

5.1 Introduction

In the year 156, a raiding expedition (*sā'ifa*) led by Zufar ibn `Āṣim al-Hilālī entered Byzantine territory through the Darb al-Ṣafṣāf, and reached a place which our Arabic sources call Kharma or Harma.(697) The Muslim raiders discovered there "a cave in a desert region where ten men [are preserved] whose bodies have not decayed" (*maṭmūra fī barriyya fīhā `asharat nafar lam tabla ajsāduhum*). Fortunately, this expedition included a scholar, the well-known Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī. Abū Isḥāq certified that these were indeed none other than the *aṣḥāb al-raqīm*, or Sleepers of the Cave.(698)

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(697) Khalīfa, *Ta'rīkh*, p. 665; Ṭabarī, III, 378; fullest version in Azdī, *Ta'rīkh al-Mawṣil*, p. 225. See above, 2.7.2.

(698) Azdī, *loc. cit.* They are usually known as *aṣḥāb al-kahf*, but both names occur because of Qur'ān 18:9, *am ḥasibta anna aṣḥāba 'l-kahfi wa'l-raqīmi....* Different opinions on this matter are collected by Yāqūt, *Mu`jam al-buldān*, II, 804-807; see also R. Paret, EI2, I, 691, with bibliography. Abū Isḥāq's opinion on this matter was later echoed by Ibn Khurradādhbih (BGA VI, 106-108), who wrote that while Ephesus is known as the *madīnat aṣḥāb al-kahf*, the *aṣḥāb al-raqīm* (as he calls them) are to be found in this same place, Kharma, a *rustāq* located between Amorium and Nicaea, four days journey from Qurra. (Qurra is Koron in Cappadocia, see Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches*, pp. 45, 47, 48. These geographical indications do not work out in detail.) Ibn Khurradādhbih is unaware of Abū Isḥāq and the expedition of 156. What he gives is the account of Muḥammad ibn Mūsā, a *munajjim* sent by al-Wāthiq (ruled 227-232), with permission of the Emperor, to visit this site. Apparently the Emperor had been duped into believing that these were the genuine Sleepers; at any rate, this is what Ibn Mūsā thought, especially after his guide had attempted to poison him and his followers. "We thought," complained Ibn Mūsā, "that you would show us corpses which resemble living people. But these are not like that."

Al-Azdī (d. 334) is our only source for Abū Isḥāq's participation in this expedition of 156, and later opinions about the Sleepers (whose undecayed remains were claimed by many localities in both the Muslim and Christian worlds) may have influenced his report. However, the fact that this detail occurs only in al-Azdī's book(699) does not force us to consider the entire account an invention.(700)

Here we have the beginning of a fairly long line of scholars and ascetics who are known to have inhabited the region of the *thughūr*, from this time until the Byzantine reconquest of the fourth/tenth century. This chapter will attempt to reconstruct their history, relying principally upon biographical sources.(701) The second half of the chapter will list these scholars and saints, according to locality and in chronological order (insofar as this can be determined). But first, several themes which recur in many of these biographies will be presented, through discussions of three men who belonged to the first generation of thaghrīs, and whose lives, as presented in the sources, may be said to embody these themes.

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(699) Considered a reliable source by F. Rosenthal, EI2, I, 813.

(700) The chroniclers' descriptions of the *ṣawā'if* of this period are mostly brief notices of dates, leaders, and, only occasionally, destinations. As will be seen below, Abū Isḥāq's activity in the *thughūr* is well attested in the biographical sources. We find another example of scholars accompanying an expedition at Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 169, where al-Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭaba performs the *ghazw* in 162 accompanied by Mandal ibn 'Alī al-'Anazī al-Kūfī (d. 167 or 168, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 298-299) and Mu'tamar ibn Sulaymān al-Tamīmī al-Baṣrī (d. 187, see Ibn Ḥajar, X, 227-228). Neither of these two scholars seems to have figured otherwise in the life of the *thughūr*.

(701) A. Noth, *Heiliger Krieg und heiliger Kampf*, p. 25, n. 47, notes that the biographical literature has not yet been investigated with reference to jihād. For a recent example of such a study in a different geographical area, see B. Radtke, "Theologen und Mystiker in Ḫurāsān und Transoxanien," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, CXXXVI (1986), pp. 536-569.

Underlying all these themes is the issue of religious authority. We have seen (in Chapters II and III) how the early `Abbāsid caliphs asserted their control over the area; and despite all their efforts, the area seems frequently to have been a source of trouble for them, and, we may imagine, not subject to their rule to the degree which they would have liked. For the scholars, whose relation to the caliphate was often far from harmonious, the *thughūr* seem to have provided a sort of testing ground. Here they could actually exert certain forms of authority, with less opposition than they would have encountered elsewhere. And, perhaps most important, this was a place where they could apply their own notions of religious merit, particularly with regard to the jihād.

5.2 Abū Isḥāq al-Fazarī: ṣāḥib sunna wa-ghazw

It is well attested that Abū Isḥāq, who by most accounts was born in Kufa,(702) went to live in al-Maṣṣīṣa and became a ghāzī. Two of the earliest sources, Bukhārī and Ibn Abī Ḥātim,(703) do not mention these activities in their notices on Abū Isḥāq: such matters were irrelevant to the more technical concerns of these two authors. However, Ibn Sa`d (d. 230) states that Abū Isḥāq was a *ṣāḥib sunna wa-ghazw*.(704) Ibn Qutayba (d. 276) reports that Abū Isḥāq died in al-Maṣṣīṣa.(705) In Ibn Ḥibbān (d. 353) we read that Abū Isḥāq lived in the frontier garrisons (*wa-rābaṭa bi'l-thaghr ilā an*

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(702) Though some say Wāsiṭ, Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, p. 182; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 153.

(703) Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rīkh al-kabīr*, I, i, 321, #1005; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Al-Jarḥ wa'l-ta`dīl*, I, i, 128-129.

(704) Ibn Sa`d, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, ii, 185. Echoed by Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa*, IV, 259.

(705) Ibn Qutayba, *Ma`ārif*, p. 514.

māta).(706) Later books agree in characterizing Abū Isḥāq this way.(707)

We do not know how old Abū Isḥāq was in the year 156, since no source gives a date for his birth. His death is reported variously for 185, 186, and 188.(708) But it appears that by 156, late in the reign of al-Manṣūr, Abū Isḥāq had already moved to the *thughūr*, and possibly to al-Maṣṣīṣa, a town which had been restored in 140.(709) We cannot fix the dates any more precisely.

Abū Isḥāq's *shuyūkh* included al-Awzā`ī, who held such a high opinion of Abū Isḥāq that he himself transmitted ḥadīth from him,(710) and even told a scribe to whom he was dictating a letter to "begin with him [with his name], for by God, he is better than I am" (*uktub wa'bda' bihi fa-innahu wa'llāhi khayrun minnī*).(711) Abū Isḥāq seems similarly to have enjoyed a special position among the pupils of al-Awzā`ī: in his biographies, at any rate, it was said that if you asked a Syrian, he would name al-Awzā`ī and al-Fazārī as "the two imāms of Syria."(712)

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(706) *Mashāhīr*, p. 182.

(707) E.g., Abū Nu`aym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, VIII, 253-265; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa*, IV, 259-260; Ibn `Asākir (ed. Badrān), *Tahdhīb al-ta'rīkh al-kabīr*, II, 252-256; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, I, 273-274; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, I, 151-153.

(708) Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 152.

(709) Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 166. Above, 2.6.4.

(710) Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 151, *wa-huwa min shuyūkhihi*. Abū Nu`aym, *Ḥilya*, VIII, 256.

(711) Abū Nu`aym, *Ḥilya*, VIII, 254; Ibn `Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, II, 253; Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 274; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 152.

(712) Abū Nu`aym, *Ḥilya*, VIII, 254; Ibn `Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, II, 254, where `Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mahdī (d. 198, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 281) says that people split up into competing groups in matters of religious learning, with the Basrans following Ḥammād ibn Zayd, while the Kufans prefer Zā'ida and Mālik ibn Mighwal, and the Ḥijāzīs opt for Mālik ibn Anas. "And if you see a Syrian, he will prefer al-Awzā`ī and al-

Abū Isḥāq was, like his master al-Awzā`ī, an *imām fī 'l-sunna*.(713) In Awzā`ī's case, this high level of expertise in sunna was not matched by an equally high level in the science of tradition.(714) Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī seems to have resembled his master in this respect; at any rate, the early authorities were divided on his reliability as a transmitter of ḥadīth.(715) We have seen that Ibn Sa`d called Abū Isḥāq a *ṣāḥib sunna wa-ghazw*. This must be how Abū Isḥāq earned his fame, rather than as a traditionist. But what does this phrase mean?

Abū Isḥāq took a hard line in dealing with the (no doubt uncouth) inhabitants of the frontier district. According to `Abdallāh ibn Ṣāliḥ al-`Ijlī (d. 210 or 211), Abū Isḥāq "was the one who taught the inhabitants of the *thughūr* how to behave. He instructed them in the sunna, and used to give commands and prohibitions. Whenever a man inclined to heresy entered the *thughūr* region, Abū Isḥāq threw him out."(716) Abū Isḥāq's opposition to

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Fazārī, and will put his trust in them. [All] these are imāms of the sunna" (*fa-inna hā'ulā'i a'imma fī 'l-sunna*).

(713) See end of previous note.

(714) In another statement attributed to `Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Mahdī, Awzā`ī was characterized as an "imām in the sunna, but not an imām in the ḥadīth." Sufyān al-Thawrī had the opposite qualifications, while Mālik was an imām in both areas. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies* (ed. Stern), II, 25, citing Zurqānī, *Sharḥ `alā ṣaḥīḥ al-Muwaṭṭa'*, I, 4; cf. Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Taqdima*, p. 203.

(715) Ibn Qutayba (*Ma`ārif*, p. 514) damned him as *kathīr al-ghalaṭ fī 'l-ḥadīth*. Ibn Sa`d (*Ṭabaqāt*, VII, ii, 185) gave a mixed review, concluding with *kathīr al-khaṭā' fī ḥadīthihi*. Perhaps this tendency to error resulted from Abū Isḥāq's late start (at the age of 28) in the business of *kitābat al-ḥadīth* (see Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 153). On the other hand, other early authorities, namely, Ibn Ma`īn, Abū Ḥātim, al-`Ijlī, and al-Nasā'ī, praised his ḥadīth: see Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, I, i, 128-129; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 152-153.

(716) Ibn `Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, II, 253; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 151. *Wa-huwa alladhī addaba ahl al-thughūr wa-`allamahum al-sunna wa-amara wa-nahā wa-idhā dakhala al-thaghr rajul mubtadi` akhrajahu.*

Qadarites was just as energetic: once when a man arrived in al-Maṣṣīṣa and began to speak favorably of *qadar*, Abū Isḥāq sent word to him, saying, "Get away from us!"(717) Similarly, the Damascene Abū Mushir al-Ghassānī (d. 218) reported that when Abū Isḥāq visited Damascus, people gathered to hear him, and that he told Abū Mushir to dismiss all Qadarites from the room.(718)

This may give us an idea of Abū Isḥāq's role as *ṣāḥib sunna*. But the other part of his epithet, namely, *ṣāḥib ghazw*, proves more difficult to understand. First, and no doubt most important, is the fact that he wrote a book on *siyar* which won highest praise from al-Shāfiʿī.(719) This book of *siyar* was probably like that of al-Awzāʿī, and included a section on *ghazawāt*.

Did a *ṣāḥib sunna wa-ghazw* teach by example, as well as by imparting his knowledge? More specifically, was Abū Isḥāq actually a ghāzī? The only reference we have to an actual campaign in which Abū Isḥāq took part is the *ṣā'ifa* of 156, referred to above. None of the biographical notices on Abū Isḥāq (some of which are fairly long) mention this episode. Instead, they usually present him as settled in al-Maṣṣīṣa, or else travelling to Iraq and Damascus.(720) Thus, while Abū Isḥāq may actually have taken part in the

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(717) Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, VII, 254; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb*, II, 255. *Qadima rajul al-Maṣṣīṣa fa-jaʿala yadhkuru* [not *yunkiru*, as printed in *Ḥilya*] *al-qadar fa-baʿatha ilayhi Abū Isḥāq irḥal ʿannā.*

(718) Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb*, II, 253; Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 273; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 151. *Fa-qul lahum man kāna yarā ra'y al-qadariyya fa-lā yaḥḍur majlisanā.* Dhahabī adds, *wa-man kāna yarā ra'y fulān fa-lā yaḥḍur majlisanā wa-man kāna ya'tī al-sulṭān fa-lā yaḥḍur majlisanā.*

(719) Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 152. Shāfiʿī said, "No one has composed a book on *siyar* like this one" (*lam yuṣannif aḥad fī 'l-siyar mithlahu*). See Sezgin, GAS, I, 292; Abū Bakr ibn Khayr, *Fihrist mā rawāhu ʿan shuyūkhihi*, p. 236; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, pp. 162-163, includes information apparently taken from this *Kitāb al-siyar*.

(720) In one story, told apparently to illustrate his *waraʿ*, he is not on the expedition. The narrator, Makhlad ibn Ḥusayn (see below) says, "We were on campaign with ʿAbd al-Malik al-Hāshimī, and as we were approaching home, al-Fazārī passed us by in a hurry, without greeting

jihād, this aspect of his life did not greatly interest the compilers of biographies; and when they say of him that he is a model, an example to be followed (*yuqtadā bihi*),(721) they must have something else in mind.

5.3 ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Mubārak: jihād vs. ḥajj

The following passage (from late sources) strengthens the impression that Abū Isḥāq was thought of as a scholar and a holy man, rather than as a warrior.

> Al-Fuḍayl ibn ʿIyāḍ said, "Perhaps the reason why I longed [to go to] al-Maṣṣīṣa was not so that I [could acquire] the merit of *ribāṭ*, but rather so that I could see Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī.(722)

Al-Fuḍayl ibn ʿIyāḍ ibn Masʿūd ibn Bishr al-Tamīmī was famous both as a *zāhid* and as a *muhaddith*. He had success at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd, and afterwards went to live in Mecca, where he died in 187.(723) None of the biographical notices on al-Fuḍayl mention any journeys on his part to the *thughūr*, and al-Fuḍayl in this passage as much as says that performing jihād itself did not interest him. Furthermore, al-Fuḍayl and Abū Isḥāq did not even transmit ḥadīth from one another, and have nothing to say about one another in the sources, apart from this one instance. Why, then, do we have this passage connecting al-Fuḍayl with Abū Isḥāq and the *thughūr*?

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us...." Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb*, II, 255. In the long *vita* of Ibrāhīm ibn Adham in *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'* (below, 5.4), al-Fazārī occasionally appears on a *ghazw*, but strictly as a background phenomenon.

(721) Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 152.

(722) Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa*, IV, 259; Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 251; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, I, 307. *Rubbamā 'shtaqtu ilā 'l-Maṣṣīṣa mā bī* [sic] *faḍl al-ribāṭ bal [li-]arā Abā Isḥāq al-Fazārī.*

(723) Sezgin, GAS, I, 636, and sources listed there; A.-M. Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, pp. 35-37.

Al-Fuḍayl, who made many pilgrimages in his life, and finally went to live in Mecca, figures in our sources as a Meccan representative in a debate, waged both in poetry and in ḥadīth, on the relative merits of *ḥajj* and of *jihād*. We find him as the addressee of verses vaunting the superiority of the jihād. The author of these verses was reported to be the famous 'Abdallāh ibn al-Mubārak, a man who, like both Abū Isḥāq and al-Fuḍayl, was known, among other things, both for his *zuhd* and for his activity as a transmitter of ḥadīth.(724)

> 'Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad, the qāḍī of Naṣībīn, said that Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Abī Sukayna told me, Ibn al-Mubārak dictated the following verses to me at Ṭarsūs as I was taking my leave of him. He sent the sheet [containing the verses] in my care to al-Fuḍayl ibn 'Iyāḍ in the year 177.

Worshipper of the two sanctuaries, if you could only see us,
You would know that in your worship you are merely playing games.

For some it may be fine to tinge their necks with tears;
But our breasts are dyed in our own life's blood.

They tire out their horses in some vain enterprise;
While our steeds grow tired on the very Day of Brightness.

For you the scent of perfume, but the scent which we prefer
Is the hooves' burning and the most delicious dust.

A true and trusted sentence has reached us from our Prophet,
Out of his sayings, one which cannot be called a lie.

"The dust of God's cavalry, as it covers a man's face,
Will never be found together with the hell-smoke of the Fire."

This is the Book of God pronouncing thus between us
That the Martyr does not die: here can be no falsehood.

Yā 'ābida 'l-ḥaramayni law abṣartanā
la-'alimta annaka fi'l-'ibādati tal'abu

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(724) His activity as a poet and a collector of poetry is also well attested: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, ii, 104, *wa-qāla al-shi'r fī 'l-zuhd wa'l-ḥathth 'alā 'l-jihād*. Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilya*, VIII, 170; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, X, 155; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa*, IV, 116; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, IV, 285; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 285.

man kāna yakhḍibu jīdahū bi-dumū`ihi
fa-nuḥūrunā bi-dimā'inā tatakhaḍḍabu

aw kāna yut`ibu khaylahu fī bāṭilin
fa-khuyūlunā yawma 'l-ṣabīḥati tat`abu

rīḥu 'l-`abīri lakum wa-naḥnu `abīrunā
wahaju 'l-sanābiki wa'l-ghubāru 'l-aṭyabu

wa-laqad atānā min maqāli nabiyyinā
qawlun ṣaḥīḥun ṣādiqun lā yukdhabu

lā yastawī ghubāru khayli 'llāhi fī
anfi 'mri'in wa-dukhānu nārin talhabu

hādhā kitābu 'llāhi yanṭiqu baynanā
laysa 'l-shahīdu bi-mayyitin lā yakdhabu

> [Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm] said: And so, I reached al-Fuḍayl in Mecca at the sanctuary, and when he had read [the letter], his eyes flowed [with tears], and he said, Abū `Abd al-Raḥmān has told the truth and has advised me faithfully (*ṣadaqa...wa-naṣaḥa*).(725)

While the authenticity of these verses may be questioned, we see, at any rate, that their author was familiar with the prophetic hadīth on jihād, where the wordplay on *dumū`* and *dimā'* recurs frequently. The poet has also paraphrased a well-known ḥadīth, *la yajtami`u ghubārun fī sabīli 'llāhi wa-dukhānu Jahannamin.*(726) Finally, arguing (though only in the most general way) for Ibn al-Mubārak's authorship is Ibn Sa`d's statement that Ibn al-Mubārak composed poetry inciting to the jihād.

But whoever wrote these verses, and under whatever circumstances, they illustrate a topos which occurs in various places in the early `Abbāsid period. We see it in the words of the caliph Abū 'l-`Abbās to Abū Muslim, when the latter was seeking permission to go on pilgrimage: *inna 'l-jihāda afḍalu*

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(725) Dhahabī, *Siyar a`lām al-nubalā'*, VIII, 364-365; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-ẓāhira*, II, 103-104.

(726) Al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-`ummāl*, II, 261; Wensinck, *Concordance*, IV, 458.

min al-ḥajji ("Jihād is better than pilgrimage").(727) Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī transmitted the following ḥadīth:

> [Abū Isḥāq from al-Aʿmash from Abū Wā'il from ʿAbdallāh ibn Masʿūd. The Prophet said:] Of the *ayyām al-ʿamal* there is none better than the tenth of Dhū 'l-Ḥijja. He was asked, not even jihād in the path of God? He answered, not even jihād in the path of God, except for one whose charger has stumbled and whose blood has gushed forth (*illā man ʿathara jawāduhu wa-uhrīqa damu-hu*).(728)

The putative author of these verses, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Mubārak ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Ḥanẓalī al-Tamīmī al-Marwazī, was one of the best-known scholars of his generation.(729) Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī knew him, and called him *imām al-muslimīn*.(730) Abū Isḥāq and Ibn al-Mubārak would sit together asking questions of one another.(731) But then, Ibn al-Mubārak was also familiar with Fuḍayl ibn ʿIyāḍ and his companions.(732) Ibn al-Mubārak made many pilgrimages during his life, and thus had associations with both sides in the jihād vs. ḥajj quarrel.

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(727) Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III, 184; above, 2.5.1.

(728) Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, VIII, 259. Different versions indicated at Wensinck, *Concordance*, IV, 380 (*mā min ayyām al-ʿamal*).

(729) Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, ii, 104-105; Khalīfa, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 836, #3137; Ibn Qutayba, *Maʿārif*, p. 511; Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rīkh al-kabīr*, I, i, 212, #679; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, II, ii, 179, #838; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, pp. 194-195; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, VIII, 162-190; Khaṭīb, X, 152-169; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa*, IV, 134-147; Ibn Abī 'l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, II, 324-326; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, IV, 285; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 382-387; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, X, 177-178; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, I, 295. See also Sezgin, GAS, I, 95.

(730) Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, II, ii, 180; Khaṭīb, X, 163; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 285.

(731) Khaṭīb, X, 163.

(732) Khaṭīb, X, 158; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, V, 383; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa*, IV, 115, where al-Fuḍayl transmits a saying from Ibn al-Mubārak against those who "eat from their religion."

5.3.1 Ibn al-Mubārak as Ghāzī

He was, as should already be apparent, a man of many accomplishments. What, then, was the nature of his involvement with the *thughūr*? We have, to begin with, the fact that he wrote a *Kitāb al-jihād*, a book of ḥadīth which has now been edited.(733) Here his connection to the *thughūr* is much like that of Abū Isḥāq, author of the *Kitāb al-siyar*. But (as in the case of Abū Isḥāq) this involvement was deeper than that of an author of books; or so it would seem from Sufyān ibn ʿUyayna's statement that the only advantage which the Companions had over Ibn al-Mubārak was "their companionship with the Prophet and their taking part with him in campaigns."(734)

In some (later) sources, Ibn al-Mubārak's activities as ghāzī assume heroic proportions.

> [ʿUbda ibn Sulaymān said:] We were on an expedition (*sariyya*) with ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Mubārak in *bilād al-Rūm*. We encountered the enemy, and when the two armies faced each other, one of their men stepped forth and challenged us to single combat. A man stepped forth [from our ranks] and killed him. Another of them then [issued a challenge] and he killed him also. Then he issued [his own] challenge to the Rūm. [One of them] stepped forth; he attacked [this man] for an hour, then stabbed him and killed him. [The Muslims] then crowded around him, and I was one of those who did so. He was concealing his face in his sleeve. I took hold of the edge of his sleeve and pulled it away, and lo! it was ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Mubārak. He then said to me, Abū ʿAmr, you too are one of those who say evil things against me (*wa-anta yā Abā ʿAmr mimman yushanniʿu ʿalaynā*)(735)

Here we have entered the world of al-Malik al-Nuʿmān and Dhāt al-Himma. But later generations also associated Ibn al-Mubārak closely with the jihād. After his death, he appeared in a dream to Muḥammad, the son of al-Fuḍayl ibn

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(733) By N. Ḥammād, Beirut 1971. According to Abū Bakr ibn Khayr (*Fihrist mā rawāhu*, p. 493), the title of this book was *[Kitāb] faḍl al-jihād*. This is an accurate description of the contents.

(734) Cf. Goldziher, *Introduction*, p. 129, n. 39.

(735) Khaṭīb, X, 167; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa*, IV, 144; cited by N. Ḥammād in introduction to *Kitāb al-jihād*, p. 8, n. 4.

ʿIyāḍ, and informed him that "that which I used to do" (*alladhī kuntu ʿalayhi*) was the "best of deeds" (*afḍal al-aʿmāl*). When Ibn Fuḍayl pressed him on this point, Ibn al-Mubārak affirmed that this was indeed none other than *al-ribāṭ wa'l-jihād*.(736)

Our early sources give far fewer details of Ibn al-Mubārak's exploits in the *thughūr*. One item of general agreement is that he died in Hīt in the year 181; some sources say that he was then returning from Ṭarsūs, others that he was returning from a campaign (*munṣarifan min al-ghazw*).(737) But what sort of *ghazw* would he have been performing at the age of 63 (lunar) years? Elsewhere the sources say that he made frequent trips to Ṭarsūs (*wa-kāna kathīr al-ikhtilāf ilā Ṭarsūs*).(738) But the activity ascribed to him there is of a civilian nature. As in the case of Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī, we have a picture of a scholar residing in a frontier town (though in this case not permanently).

5.3.2 The Man Without Qualities

But even these references to Ibn al-Mubārak in Ṭarsūs are from later sources. From the earliest ones we know only that he traveled to the *thughūr*, and died on his way home (to Marw) from there. And indeed, what stands out about Ibn al-Mubārak is his constant traveling. "He went to Iraq, the Hijaz, Syria, Egypt, and the Yemen, and he heard a great deal of learning."(739) In the

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(736) Khaṭīb, X, 168; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa*, IV, 147.

(737) Ibn Saʿd, VII, ii, 105, quoted by Ibn Ḥajar, V, 385, *min al-ghazw*. Ibn Qutayba, *Maʿārif*, p. 511 (*ghazw*). Bukhārī, *Al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, III, i, 212, only gives the date; likewise Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, II, ii, 180; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, pp. 194-195 (Ṭarsūs); Samʿānī, I, 285 (Ṭarsūs).

(738) Khaṭīb, X, 159.

(739) Ibn Saʿd, VII, ii, 205.

opinion of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, "There was no one in Ibn al-Mubārak's time who was more zealous in seeking knowledge (*aṭlab lil-'ilm*) than he. He traveled to the Yemen, to Syria, and to Basra and Kufa...he wrote down learning from the great and the small...[including from] Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī, and he collected a great stock" (*wa-jama'a amran 'aẓīman*).(740)

Ibn al-Mubārak traveled everywhere; he made frequent pilgrimages, and engaged in trade as he went along.(741) Unlike Abū Isḥāq and the other thaghrīs who will be discussed in this chapter, Ibn al-Mubārak spent only a fraction of his life in the *thughūr*. Why, then, does he appear in the sources in the role of *mujāhid*?

No doubt he actually was one, in some sense, if only on occasion. But what obscures all this for us is his superabundance of virtues. Ibn Ḥibbān said of him that "there were in him virtues (*khiṣāl*) such as were never united in any man of learning in our time in all the world."(742) Ibn al-Mubārak's friends and pupils were fond of making lists of these *khiṣāl*, and it is worth noting that the qualities of physical courage (*shajā'a*) and *jihād* are not on the earliest versions of these lists, but enter gradually as the lists expand.

A consequence of having so many *khiṣāl* is that various groups claim the holder, neglecting those *khiṣāl* that do not serve their purpose, while at the same time amplifying or inventing *khiṣāl* which fit into their scheme.(743)

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(740) Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, II, ii, 180-181; Ibn Ḥajar, V, 384.

(741) Ibn Ḥajar, V, 386. In late sources his wealth is described as a *ra's māl* of 400,000 [dirhams]: Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, X, 177.

(742) Ibn Ḥajar, V, 386.

(743) Thus in Ibn Abī 'l-Wafā', *Jawāhir*, II, 326, Ibn al-Mubārak becomes a respectful disciple of Abū Ḥanīfa, asking the master questions about *zakāt*, and then citing Abū Ḥanīfa as his own authority when he himself is asked about such matters as the times for prayer, and the permissi-

But in the end, a man who has so many *khiṣāl* begins to seem like a man without qualities. What matters most is that he is a model to be imitated (*yuqtadā bihi*).

> [Al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad said:] We were traveling with Ibn al-Mubārak, and it would often occur to me, so that I said to myself, How is it that this man's merit is so far superior to ours, so that it has become so widely known? If he prays, then we pray; if he fasts, then we fast; if he goes to war (*in kāna yaghzū*), then we go to war; if he goes on pilgrimage, then we go on pilgrimage. We were then on a leg of our journey on the Syrian road, having our supper at night in a house, when the lamp went out. One of our group stood up, took the lamp, and went out to light it. He stayed outside for a while, and then brought the lamp back. Then I looked at Ibn al-Mubārak's face, and his beard was wet from his tears. I then said to myself, This is why this man's merit is superior to ours. While the lamp was gone, he was probably sitting in the dark, recalling the Judgement Day.(744)

In this passage, Ibn al-Mubārak's excellence as a *qudwa* outweighs his and his followers' activities in both jihād and ḥajj. Furthermore, in some of the stories told about him, these two activities tend to become blurred. Thus, a story about his generosity on the ḥajj recurs in a setting of jihād, in almost all of its details; the only major difference is that the action takes place on a journey from Baghdad to al-Maṣṣīṣa, instead of one from Marw to Mecca.(745)

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bility of eating magpies and of drinking certain potions. His connection with the Hanafīs in other sources is not particularly strong (though see Schacht, *Origins*, p. 238). When Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal says of Ibn al-Mubārak that "There was no one less prone to error than he. He was a master of hadīth, a *ḥāfiẓ*, and he used to transmit ḥadīth from a book" (Ibn Ḥajar, V, 384), the point being made has to do with transmitting from a book as a praiseworthy activity (the parallel passage in Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, II, ii, 180, lacks the last clause about the book). This may help to explain the enormous library (20,000 or 21,000 volumes!) which our sources ascribe to Ibn al-Mubārak (Ibn Ḥajar, V, 385). As in the case of his jihād, a plausible fact (that he wrote books and gave lectures out of them) has grown to heroic proportions.

(744) Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa*, IV, 145.

(745) Khaṭīb, X, 157-158.

The *qudwa*, the model or exemplar, has this fear of God to such an extent that it gives him enormous strength.(746) He may also continue to exert some form of power over his fellow-men after his death.(747) But in the case of Ibn al-Mubārak, this preeminence leads at times to startling results.

> [Abū Nu`aym from Ibrāhīm ibn `Abdallāh from Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq from Aḥmad ibn al-Walīd from `Ubayd ibn Jannād(?). Al-`Umarī said:] Ibn al-Mubārak is fit [to rule] (*yaṣluḥu li-hādhā 'l-amr*). A man asked him, for what? He answered, the imāmate.(748)

Here we have the convention whereby epithets normally reserved for caliphs are applied to religious scholars: as when Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī says that Ibn al-Mubārak was the *imām al-muslimīn*.(749) But an expanded version of this same story takes this theme farther.

> [Al-`Umarī said:] I have never seen anyone better suited [to rule] in this age of ours than a man who came to my house and stayed with me for three days, asking me about things concerning which the people of this age (*ahl hādhā 'l-dahr*) do not ask....We said to him, that was `Abdallāh ibn al-Mubārak. He said, it is fitting that one who is fit to rule should be this way (*hākadhā yanbaghī an yakūna aḥad yaṣluḥu li-hādhā 'l-amr fa-dhaka*). `Ubayd said, That means, as a model for learning (*ya`nī al-iqtidā' bi'l-`ilm*).(750)

`Ubayd's attempt at toning down the claim made here seems empty: *yaṣluḥu li-hādhā 'l-amr* can only refer to the Caliphate.

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(746) When Ibn al-Mubārak read from his *Kitāb al-zuhd wa'l-raqā'iq* (see Sezgin, GAS, I, 95; Abū Bakr ibn Khayr, *Fihrist mā rawāhu*, pp. 493, 509), he would bellow like a cow or a bull being slaughtered. Khaṭīb, X, 167; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa*, IV. Nu`aym ibn Ḥammād is the informant.

(747) Ibn al-Mubārak's tomb in Hīt became a shrine, *mashhūr yuzār* (Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, p. 195). A strange prayer of his is recorded in connection with this: "Ibn al-Mubārak said, 'God, do not make me die in Hīt!' So he died in Hīt, may God have mercy on him" (Abū Nu`aym, *Ḥilya*, VIII, 164).

(748) Abū Nu`aym, *Ḥilya*, VIII, 162.

(749) Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, II, ii, 180; Khaṭīb, X, 163; Ibn Ḥajar, V, 285.

(750) Abū Nu`aym, *Ḥilya*, VIII, 162.

Ibn al-Mubārak is thus proposed for the imāmate. The biographers, here and elsewhere, will occasionally refer to a great scholar as *amīr al-mu'minīn fī 'l-ḥadīth*, *imām al-muslimīn*, and so on. It appears that what underlies this convention can be more than a harmless metaphor.

5.4 *Ibrāhīm ibn Adham: al-ḥalāl al-maḥḍ*

The third of these "founding fathers" was the famous ascetic Ibrāhīm ibn Adham, who represents another trend or theme which persists in the *thughūr* throughout the period dealt with in this chapter. Ibrāhīm came from Balkh, but by all accounts spent most of his life in *bilād al-Shām*, an area so defined as to include Ṭarsūs and its environs.(751) While the earliest sources note his piety, generosity, and learning, they seldom call him a murābit or mujāhid. However, there are good grounds for ascribing these qualities to him. It is generally agreed that he died in *bilād al-Rūm* in 161 or 162.(752) Furthermore, important thaghrīs of the following generation learned ḥadīth (and no doubt other subjects) from him.(753) Finally, and most important, we have the following passage in Ibn Ḥibbān:

> [Ibrāhīm] was born in Balkh. Then he moved to Baghdad. Then he went out to al-Shām seeking *al-ḥalāl al-maḥḍ*. He stayed there as a ghāzī and a murābiṭ, practicing the strictest piety by dint of great efforts, and practicing asceticism by means of devotion, until he died in *bilād al-Rūm* in the year 161.(754)

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(751) Bukhārī, *Al-Ta'rīkh al-kabīr*, I, i, 273; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, I, i, 87; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, p. 183; Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya*, pp. 13-22; Abū Nu`aym, *Ḥilya*, VII, 367-395; VIII, 3-58; Ibn `Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, II, 167-196; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 102-103; R.N. Nicholson, EI1, II, 432-434; R. Jones, EI2, III, 985-986.

(752) Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, I, i, 87; Ibn Ḥajar, I, 103.

(753) See below, 5.5.2.1, on `Alī ibn Bakkār, Makhlad ibn Ḥusayn.

(754) *Mashāhīr*, p. 183, #1455.

This suffices to identify Ibrāhīm as a genuine thaghrī.(755) But what was this *al-ḥalāl al-maḥḍ*? Much has been written about the conversion which Ibrāhīm is supposed to have undergone as a wealthy young man in Khurāsān, but the immediate sequel to that conversion remains equally mysterious.

> [Ibrāhīm set out, he said] until I reached Iraq. I worked there for a number of days, but found no trace of pure *ḥalāl* (*fa-lam yaṣfu lī fīhā shay' min al-ḥalāl*). Then I asked some *shaykhs* about *ḥalāl*, and they said to me: "If you desire *ḥalāl*, then you must go to *bilād al-Shām*." So I made my way to *bilād al-Shām*, to a town called al-Manṣūra, that is, al-Maṣṣīṣa,(756) but I still found no trace of *ḥalāl*. I then asked some *shaykhs*, and they said to me, "If you desire *al-ḥalāl al-ṣāfī*, then you must go to Ṭarsūs, for it has permissible things and much work (*al-mubāḥāt wa'l-'amal al-kathīr*). So I headed for Ṭarsūs, and worked there for a number of days, watching over orchards and reaping the harvest.(757)

It is not stated here if Ibrāhīm found his pure *ḥalāl* in Ṭarsūs. What he did practice there was abstinence from food, so much so that after many days of sitting in an orchard he remained unable to tell a sweet from a sour pomegranate, never having tasted the fruit. This made people recognize him (his reputation as an ascetic had apparently preceded him); a crowd came after him, and he ran away.

Ibrāhīm seems to have spent much of his time traveling as a migrant laborer. And Sulamī, who never mentions the word *ḥalāl* with regard to Ibrāhīm, says that Ibrāhīm "went to Syria, and used to work there, eating [what he

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(755) As in the case of Ibn al-Mubārak, this does not mean that he restricted his activities to the *thughūr*. The numerous stories about him in *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'* have him traveling all over *bilād al-Shām*, but a large proportion of these describe him living in the *thughūr*, and participating in campaigns. We need not accept all these stories as true, but the connection with the *thughūr* may be taken as thematic.

(756) This is a mistake for al-Ma'mūra, a name which al-Manṣūr gave to al-Maṣṣīṣa when he restored it in 139-140. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 166; above, 2.6.4.

(757) Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilya*, VII, 368; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, II, 169; cf. II, 173.

earned from] the work of his own hand."(758)

However, abstaining from food seems to have been Ibrāhīm's most noticeable trait. He fasted both when traveling and when staying in one place.(759) When Ibrāhīm was working in the orchard of a Christian in Ashkelon, the owner's wife realized who he was when she found his previous meal untouched every time she brought him food.(760) And his notion of *ḥalāl* seems to involve more than mere abstinence. Once while traveling through the desert, Ibrāhīm grew hungry; he therefore stayed where he was for several days, eating sand mixed with water.(761) But his favorite food was clay. He once dined on this delicacy for twenty days, and expressed the wish that "I could take no food other than clay until I meet God, so that I might have pure *ḥalāl* wherever it might be" (*ḥattā yaṣfuwa lī al-ḥalāl min ayna huwa*).(762)

Ibrāhīm's *ḥalāl* thus involves at the very least an attempt to go beyond what ordinary Islamic dietary law prescribes. When he went on a *ghazw*, Ibrāhīm would refuse to eat provisions captured from the enemy, and would say, "It is *ḥalāl*, but nonetheless I refrain from it." He would eat what he had brought with him, or (of course) would fast.(763)

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(758) Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya*, p. 13.

(759) Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, VII, 373.

(760) *Ibid.*, VII, 372. Compare the story of the pomegranates (above) with a similar one about grapes (VII, 371-372), where Ibrāhīm's identity is again revealed through his abstaining from the fruit.

(761) *Ibid.*, VII, 381.

(762) *Ibid.*, VII, 381.

(763) *Ibid.*, VII, 388. This shows that Nicholson's explanation ("Like many of the ancient Ṣūfīs, he took every precaution that his food should be 'lawful' in the religious sense of the word," EI1, II, 433) is inaccurate.

Ibrāhīm recommended abstaining from women,(764) and praised supererogatory actions in general.(765) Elsewhere we find a rationalized theory of *zuhd* attributed to Ibrāhīm, opposing *al-zuhd fī 'l-ḥarām* to *al-zuhd fī 'l-ḥalāl*.(766) However, it seems safe to say that *al-ḥalāl al-maḥḍ* or *al-ḥalāl al-ṣāfī* has to do primarily with dietary practices.(767)

Ibrāhīm did not expect his followers to reach his own high standard in matters of fasting.(768) He would, however, reprimand them for greed.(769) He would often give his food and money away to the poor, these being often indistinguishable from his own *aṣḥāb*.(770) He advocated charity (*mu'āsāh*) and poverty (*faqr*).(771)

But the point about many of the stories involving Ibrāhīm and his companions seems to be, first, that these must recognize him for what he is;(772) second, that they must place their absolute trust in him.(773) To follow

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(764) Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilya*, VIII, 11.

(765) *Ibid.*, VIII, 34, "You are under no obligation not to stay up at night and to fast during the day." However, Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, II, 169, has this same saying, minus the "not."

(766) *Ibid.*, VIII, 26. There are three kinds of *zuhd*, namely, *zuhd farḍ*, which is refraining from what is forbidden (*al-zuhd min al-ḥarām*), *zuhd faḍl*, or refraining from what is permissible (*al-zuhd fī 'l-ḥalāl*), and *zuhd salāma*, which is refraining from doubtful cases (*al-zuhd min al-shubuhāt*).

(767) Cf. *Ḥilya*, VIII, 34, *turīdu taḍ'ū? Kul al-ḥalāl wa'd'u bi-mā shi'ta.*

(768) *Ibid.*, VII, 385, he feeds them while fasting himself; VIII, 10, when invited to a meal he would partake of it, without pleading his fast as an excuse.

(769) *Ibid.*, VII, 393, the "fat and thick-necked" Isḥāq ibn Najīḥ al-Malaṭī (on him see below, 5.5.5).

(770) *Ibid.*, VII, 373, 385-386.

(771) *Ibid.*, VII, 369-370, 389; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, II, 173f.

(772) See above, the stories about pomegranates, grapes, etc.

Ibrāhīm meant to follow him in deed (*'amal*) rather than in precept; this remained true after his death.(774)

Ibrāhīm's search for *al-ḥalāl al-maḥḍ* was basic to his ascetic style. We may ask where this idea came from. Ibrāhīm does not state vegetarianism as a principle.(775) His *al-ḥalāl al-maḥḍ* does not correspond to the beliefs of sectarian groups such as the 'Abdakiyya.(776) Elsewhere, however, we may find a glimpse of how Ibrāhīm and like-minded Muslims learned these ideas and practices.

> [Baqiyya ibn al-Walīd (d. 197 or 198) said:] I heard Ibrāhīm ibn Adham say, I learned wisdom (*ma'rifa*) from a monk named Abū Sim'ān. I went into his *ṣawma'a* and said, "Abū Sim'ān, how long have you been in this *ṣawma'a* of yours?" He answered, "for seventy years." I asked, "What do you eat?"...he said, "One chickpea every night." I asked, "What is it that moves your heart so that this one chickpea suffices?" He said, "Do you see the monastery (*dayr*) over there?" I said, "Yes." He said, "One day every year, they come to me, and decorate my *ṣawma'a* and march around it, and honor me (*yu'aẓẓimūnī*) thereby. And so, whenever my soul grows weary of *'ibāda*, I remind her of that hour; fortified by that one' hour's glory, I can endure a year's striving (*aḥtamilu jahd sana li-'izz sā'a*). And so, *yā ḥanīfī*, endure an hour's striving for the sake of the glory of eternity." Wisdom then settled in my heart (*fa-waqara fī qalbī al-ma'rifa*).

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(773) Once he told a new traveling companion to give away his last 18 dirhams. The companion resisted this idea at first. Ibrāhīm later earned back this money through miraculously quick harvesting work, gave it to the man, and sent him on his way. *Ḥilya*, VII, 375.

(774) A prospective *ṣāḥib* of the dead ascetic was told that he would be unable to follow Ibrāhīm's *ṭarīqa* because, he was told, "Ibrāhīm acted and did not talk, whereas you have been talking without acting [working]." *'Amal* may refer to the custom of eating only what one has earned with one's own hands, as well as to deeds (as opposed to talk).

(775) Although once when he was told that the price of meat had gone up, he said, "Then don't buy it." Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilya*, VIII, 32; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, II, 169.

(776) This group maintained that until the appearance of the just imām, the world is *ḥarām*, as is interaction with its inhabitants. The only permissible thing is food, which you may take from anywhere. Malaṭī, *Tanbīh* (Baghdad 1968), p. 93. This antinomian position with regard to food is the opposite of Ibrāhīm's exaggerated "restrictive tendency."

> He then said, "Is that enough, or shall I give you more?" I said, "Please!" He said, "Come down from the *ṣawma`a*," and so I went down. He then handed me a vessel containing twenty chick-peas, and said to me, "Go into the monastery, for they have seen what I handed over to you." When I entered the monastery, the Christians gathered and said, "*Yā ḥanīfī*, what did the *shaykh* hand over to you? I said, "Some of his power" (*min quwwatihi*). They said, "What are you going to do with it? We have a better claim to it. Name a price." I said, "Twenty dinars," and they gave me twenty dinars. I then returned to the *shaykh*, and he said, "*Yā ḥanīfī*, what have you done?" I said, "I sold it." He said, "For how much?" I said, "For twenty dinars." He said, "You made a mistake. If you had stated 20,000 dinars, they would have given it to you. That is the glory (*`izz*) of one who does not worship Him; see how it would be for one who does worship Him. *Yā ḥanīfī*, approach your Lord, and stop all your coming and going."(777)

Another version of the story adds interesting details: the *ṣawma`a* is located on top of a pillar, and bends with every gust of wind; and Ibrāhīm ends by inquiring after his host's religion.(778)

The *ma`rifa* (*gnōsis*) which Abū Sim`ān transmits to Ibrāhīm provides a kind of power over one's fellows. This may seem strange in a Christian ascetic; but for a Muslim seeking religious merit (in Ibrāhīm's case, purity) in the *thughūr*, it is not strange at all. We have seen that Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī, the *ṣāḥib sunna wa-ghazw*, took an active (and leading) role in applying the sunna in the *thughūr* and in suppressing those who violated it. Abū Isḥāq was considered a model in this respect (*yuqtadā bihi*). We have also seen that `Abdallāh ibn al-Mubārak was considered a *qudwa*, a model, in matters of jihād, as well as in ḥajj and other areas. Ibn al-Mubārak was even called fit to rule, entitled, that is, to real power. Ibrāhīm ibn Adham, known afterwards as the founder of a *ṭarīqa*, was also a *qudwa* in his own fashion.

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(777) Abū Nu`aym, *Ḥilya*, VIII, 29.

(778) *Ibid.*, VIII, 29-30. The monk replies, "I know of no religion other than Islam; however, the Messiah, peace be upon him, has enjoined upon us and has described the end of your time to us; and your religion is new." The text here seems hopelessly corrupt.

In the *thughūr* region, one could acquire religious merit in a number of ways, only one of which entailed actual performance of jihād. The authority of the caliph did not lie as heavily there as it did in other places; and for the scholars and the saints, this region served as a place where they could, to a greater extent than elsewhere, exercise that authority which, it seems, they thought was theirs by right.

5.5 *The Local Schools*

A large number of scholars lived in the *thughūr*, either having been born there or as immigrants. The rest of this chapter will discuss these thaghrīs, dividing them up according to locality.(779)

5.5.1 *Awzā`ī and the Thughūr*

First, however, we must ask why it is that in Ibn Sa`d's *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* it is al-Awzā`ī who heads the list of the traditionists of *al-`awāṣim wa'l-thughūr*.(780) This seems peculiar because, while Awzā`ī attained recognition as the imām of Syria, he is not known ever to have traveled, let alone lived, in the *thughūr* region.(781) Several reasons may be adduced.

The first, and most obvious, is that the city where Awzā`ī did settle, Beirut, was itself considered a "frontier post" because it lay on the coast, exposed to maritime attacks. Ibn Sa`d's list of traditionists of *al-`awāṣim*

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(779) Only men who are known to have lived in the *thughūr* region itself are included; the inhabitants of the *`awāṣim* are left out, except for those who interacted with and influenced the thaghrīs. The schools of Aleppo and Antioch in particular would require chapters of their own.

(780) Ibn Sa`d, VII, ii, 185. Cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa*, IV, 255, where Awzā`ī is first of *al-muṣṭafīn min ahl al-`awāṣim wa'l-thughūr*.

(781) See W. Barthold, "Al-Awzā`ī," *Der Islam* XVIII (1929), p. 244; J. Schacht, EI2, I, 772-773.

wa'l-thughūr contains no other residents of Beirut; it does, however, include Ādam ibn Abī Iyās al-`Asqalānī (d. 220 or 221).(782) And in general, the coastal cities of Syria and Palestine seem to have had a "front-line" character. An ascetic named `Abbād ibn `Abbād al-`Asqalānī (also called al-Sāḥilī) was once asked why he hadn't laughed in forty years. He replied, "How can I laugh, so long as a single Muslim remains [captive] in the hands of the *mushrikūn*?"(783)

A second reason for Awzā`ī's heading the list of thaghrīs may be found in the letters which he wrote to the caliph al-Manṣūr, the heir apparent al-Mahdī, and other important figures in the `Abbāsid government.(784) In one of these letters, Awzā`ī intercedes on behalf of the *ahl al-sāḥil*, whose *`aṭā'* has just been reduced.(785) In four other letters, Awzā`ī uses similar language in pleading for ransom money (*fidā'*) for the captives taken by the Byzantines after the fall of Qālīqalā.(786) Here Awzā`ī writes with as least as much eloquence and urgency as he did on behalf of the *ahl al-sāḥil*. He thus seems to have taken it upon himself to intercede on behalf of the people

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(782) Ibn Sa`d, VII, ii, 186. Ādam was born in Khurāsān, grew up in Baghdad, and settled in Ashkelon after much traveling. See also Khaṭīb, VII, 27-30; Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 409; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 196. Ādam does not seem to have had much to do with the (northern) thaghrīs discussed in this chapter. However, his attitude to sunna resembles that of Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī: *wa-kāna Ādam mashhūran bi'l-sunna shadīd al-tamassuk bihā wa'l-ḥadd `alā '`tiqādihā* (Khaṭīb, VII, 28). He refused to return greetings to `Abdallāh ibn Ṣāliḥ because the latter believed in a created Qur'ān (Khaṭīb, *loc. cit.*).

(783) Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa*, IV, 275f.; cf. Ibn Ḥajar, V, 97 (Ādam ibn Abī Iyās transmits from him).

(784) Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Taqdima*, pp. 187-202. Cf. Sezgin, GAS, I, 517; Schacht, EI2, I, 773; above, 2.6.5.1.

(785) Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Taqdima*, pp. 193-195. The reduction was from 15 dinars apiece per annum to 10.

(786) *Ibid.*, pp. 195-202.

of the entire *thughūr* region.

Finally, we have already seen the extent to which Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī followed the teachings and example of his master al-Awzā`ī, and was considered, together with him, as "one of the two imāms of Syria" (above, 5.2). Both were authors of books on *siyar*.(787) Most of the other scholars of the *thughūr* of Abū Isḥāq's generation were likewise disciples of Awzā`ī, or at the very least acquired some of their stock of hadīth from him. Succeeding generations of thaghrīs thus found themselves in direct intellectual descent from Awzā`ī.

5.5.2 *Al-Maṣṣīṣa*

This was the most important academic center of the *thughūr*.(788)

5.5.2.1 *The companions of Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī*

From some sources we gain the impression that a small group formed in these early days, consisting of Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī, Ibrāhīm ibn Adham, Makhlad ibn al-Ḥusayn, and `Alī ibn Bakkār.(789) However, the connection between al-Fazārī and Ibrāhīm ibn Adham is tenuous, particularly in that there is no

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(787) Compare Abū Isḥāq's condemnation of the Qadariyya with *Taqdima*, p. 206. See also the speech by Awzā`ī transmitted by Abu Isḥāq at Abū Nuiaym, *Ḥilya*, VIII, 254-255. Awzā`ī here inveighs against those who ask people "are you a believer?" (*a-mu'min anta?*).

(788) Sam`ānī, *Ansāb*, XII, 297-298, makes a strong case for his assertion that the correct form of the *nisba* is "Miṣṣīṣī." Support for this position may be found at `Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Lubāb fī tahdhīb al-ansāb*, III, 221; Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 55, 63. However, the form "Maṣṣīṣī" will be retained here. In favor of this more familiar vocalization are the following: 1) By Sam`ānī's own admission, the *nisba* "Maṣṣīṣī" (Sam`ānī says that this was pronounced without *tashdīd*) was current in his own day, together with the (supposedly more correct) "Miṣṣīṣī." 2) Yāqūt, *Mu`jam al-buldān*, IV, 557; Muqaddasī, BGA, III, 22. 3) The vocalization "Maṣṣīṣī" prevails in most modern works. In any case, Samiānī is correct in saying that the same vocalization must be used both for the *nisba* and for the toponym itself.

(789) E.g., Abū Nu`aym, *Ḥilya*, IX, 317; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa*, IV, 268.

exchange of ḥadīth recorded between them.(790)

However, we may consider Makhlad ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 191) as a member of the group surrounding Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī. Makhlad belonged to the generation of Abū Isḥāq and of Ibn al-Mubārak, both of whom transmitted ḥadīth from him.(791) Makhlad left his native Basra at some unknown date, and settled in al-Maṣṣīṣa, no doubt after the usual *Wanderjahre*. His own sources of ḥadīth included Awzā'ī and Ibn Jurayj. But at the same time, he appears in early sources as an ascetic, following the same practices as Ibrāhīm ibn Adham.(792) In one instance he is mentioned as participating in a *ghazw*.(793)

Best known of this "pioneer" group was `Alī ibn Bakkār, who, like Makhlad, came from Basra. `Alī is said to have "settled as a murābiṭ in al-Maṣṣīṣa," where he died in 207 or 208.(794) We do not know the date of `Alī's birth, nor that of his move to the *thughūr*. He transmitted hadīth directly from al-Awzā`ī,(795) but his role in our sources is most often that of loyal disciple of Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī.(796)

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(790) It stands to reason that relations would have been frosty between the *ṣāḥib sunna* and the ascetic obsessed with purity. In *Ḥilya*, however, the two occasionally appear together.

(791) Ibn Sa`d, VII, ii, 185; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, IV, i, 347-348; Abū Nu`aym, *Ḥilya*, VIII, 216-217; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa*, IV, 266; Ibn Ḥajar, X, 72-73 (*wa-humā min aqrānihi*).

(792) Ibn Ḥajar, X, 72-73 (citing Ibn Ḥibbān), *wa-kāna min al-`ubbād al-khushn mimman lā ya'kulu illā al-ḥalāl al-maḥḍ*.

(793) Ibn `Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, II, 255; cf. above, 5.2.

(794) Ibn Sa`d, VII, ii, 186; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, III, i, 186; Abū Nu`aym, *Ḥilya*, I, 317-322; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa*, IV, 266-268; Ibn Ḥajar, VII, 286-287.

(795) Ibn Ḥajar, VII, 286.

(796) E.g., Ibn `Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, II, 253; Ibn Ḥajar, I, 152. In many of the ḥadīths of Abū Isḥāq recorded at *Ḥilya*, VIII, 256-265, Abū Isḥāq

`Alī's activities as a warrior present the problems which we have already encountered, particularly in the case of `Abdallāh ibn al-Mubārak. Later sources ascribe martial exploits to him. For instance, `Alī was once wounded in battle, so that his entrails came pouring out onto his saddle. He stuffed them back into place, used his turban to wind around his belly, and proceeded to kill thirteen of the enemy.(797) However, another story creates a different impression about `Alī.

> [Abū Bakr al-Maqāribī said:] I went to see `Alī ibn Bakkār as he was sifting barley for his horse. I said to him, "Abū 'l-Hasan, isn't there anyone who can do this for you?" He answered me, "I was on one of the *maghāzī* when the enemy attacked us, and the Muslims took to flight, with me among them. My horse then began to lag behind, and so I said, 'We are God's, and to God we return.' My horse then said, 'Yes, we are God's, and to God we return. [We have got into this mess] because you malign me, and don't sift my feed' (*ḥaythu tatakallamu `alayya fa-lā tunaqqī `alafī*). So I promised that I wouldn't entrust this task to anyone else."(798)

This ability to communicate with animals appears elsewhere: `Alī and Abū Isḥāq once went to gather wood in the mountains. Abū Isḥāq then found `Alī sitting cross-legged; a lion was sleeping with his head on the fold of `Alī's garment.(799) This makes a considerably less warlike impression, as does the statement that `Alī wept so much that he went blind.(800) And of the many pithy (often obscure) sayings attributed to `Alī, none refer to jihād.

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transmits to `Alī; in `Alī's own *musnad* (*Ḥilya*, IX, 319-322) this is most often the case. E.g., IX, 320, a ḥadīth on *qirā'a* with the line of transmission Abū Hurayra--Sa`īd ibn al-Musayyib--al-Zuhrī--al-Awzā`ī--Abu Isḥāq--`Alī.

(797) Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa*, IV, 267.

(798) Abū Nu`aym, *Ḥilya*, I, 318.

(799) Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa*, IV, 267.

(800) *Ibid.*, IV, 267. The tears dug furrows into his cheeks.

In short, warlike deeds constitute only one of the types of marvelous activity which the sources ascribe to a holy man of the *thughūr*. In the case of `Alī ibn Bakkār, we may affirm only that he was a disciple of Abū Isḥāq, probably a *zāhid* of some sort (though not following the pattern of Ibrāhīm ibn Adham), and a model for later generations.

Al-Ḥārith ibn `Aṭiyya (d. 199), another Basran who settled in al-Maṣṣīṣa, is an obscure figure.(801) He was a disciple of al-Awzā`ī, from whom he had a book of *masā'il* (responsa) in addition to ḥadīth.(802) Al-Ḥārith also transmitted ḥadīth from Makhlad, but, strangely, has no recorded connection with Abū Isḥāq or with `Alī ibn Bakkār. One possible explanation for this is jealousy over the inheritance of al-Awzā`ī (and therefore over academic preeminence in the *thughūr*).(803) Otherwise we know nothing of his activities, except that he was accounted one of the *zuhhād*.(804)

5.5.2.2 The second generation

Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī remained dominant in al-Massīsa in the generation after his own death. We see this in Muḥammad ibn `Uyayna al-Fazārī al-Thaghrī (d. 217), who was nephew and son-in-law of old Abū Isḥāq, from whom he also transmitted ḥadīth. He also transmitted from Ibn al-Mubārak and Makhlad, but

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(801) Ibn Sa`d, VII, ii, 187; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, II, i, 85; Ibn Ḥajar, II, 150-151.

(802) Ibn Hajar, II, 151, citing Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.

(803) We do not know when al-Ḥārith went to al-Maṣṣīṣa. However, since he transmitted ḥadīth from al-Awzā`ī (d. 157), he must have belonged to Abū Isḥāq's generation; and since he lived in al-Maṣṣīṣa long enough to acquire the *nisba* "al-Maṣṣīṣī," his time there must have overlapped with that of Abū Isḥāq. The lack of exchange between al-Ḥārith and Abū Isḥāq's devoted disciple `Alī ibn Bakkār is equally telling.

(804) Ibn Ḥajar, II, 151. This in itself is not enough to assign him to the Ibrāhīm ibn Adham club.

not from al-Ḥārith or Ḥajjāj al-a'war.(805)

The Kufan Mu`āwiya ibn `Amr (128-214) seems to have gone to al-Maṣṣīṣa in order to become a disciple of Abū Isḥāq, from whom he transmitted the *Kitāb al-siyar*.(806)

Another Kufan, Khalaf ibn Tamīm ibn Abī `Attāb (d. 206 or 213), settled in al-Maṣṣīṣa, where Abū Isḥāq did him the honor of transmitting ḥadīth from him. Khalaf also had a reputation as an ascetic.(807)

Muḥammad ibn Kathīr al-Maṣṣīṣī (d. 216), a more important personage, is said to have come either from Syria or the Yemen.(808) He transmitted both from al-Awzā`ī and from Abū Isḥāq, as well as from Maimar ibn Rāshid and others. Authorities were divided on his reliability as a transmitter; the quarrel revolves largely around his traditions from al-Awzā`ī.(809) Muḥammad ibn Kathīr was active as a traditionist. One of his pupils was `Alī ibn `Alī ibn Abī 'l-Maḍā' al-Maṣṣīṣī (n.d.), known to have been qāḍī of al-Maṣṣīṣa.(810)

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(805) Ibn Sa`d, VII, ii, 187; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, IV, i, 42; Ibn Ḥajar, IX, 394-395.

(806) Khaṭīb, XIII, 197-198; Ibn Ḥajar, X, 315-316. Mu`āwiya came from Kufa, went to live in Baghdad, and then at some unknown time went to the *thughūr*. He returned to Baghdad at the end of his life. See Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 163; above, 3.6.2.

(807) Ibn Sa`d, VII, ii, 187; Ibn Ḥajar, III, 148-149. In the long *vita* of Ibrāhīm ibn Adham in *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'*, Khalaf appears frequently as a transmitter of the stories.

(808) Ibn Sa`d, VII, ii, 185; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, IV, i, 69-70; Ibn Ḥajar, IX, 415-417.

(809) Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 169; Ibn Ḥajar, IX, 416.

(810) Ibn Ḥajar, VII, 380. No dates are given. His teachers also included al-Haytham ibn Jamīl al-Anṭākī (d. 213 or 214). Al-Nasā'ī (d. 303) learned ḥadīth from him.

5.5.2.3 The eastern influx

Ḥajjāj ibn Muḥammad al-Maṣṣīṣī al-aʿwar (d. 206) was the first major figure in al-Maṣṣīṣa (aside from al-Ḥārith ibn ʿAṭiyya) who did not belong to the circle of Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī or to that of his followers.(811) He moved to the *thughūr* in 190, too late to hear Abū Isḥāq. But in any case, Ḥajjāj's master was Ibn Jurayj (d. 150 or 151), from whom he had his *tafsīr*.(812) Being elderly and one-eyed when he lived in the *thughūr*, Ḥajjāj was noted neither for jihād nor for *zuhd*, but rather for his fine Arabic and his great store of learning.(813)

In the 210's and 220's, al-Maṣṣīṣa seems to have been swarming with traditionists, many of whom came from Iraq and Khurāsān. We know little more than the names of some of these. A man named Abū 'l-Mundhir, who died in 222, is said to have been qāḍī of al-Maṣṣīṣa.(814) Ashʿath ibn Shuʿba al-Maṣṣīṣī came originally from Khurāsān, and traveled widely.(815) Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān al-Qāri' al-Sayyār also came from Khurāsān. He was known for his learning and his asceticism, and died in al-Maṣṣīṣa in 221.(816) We may situate in

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(811) Khaṭīb, VIII, 237. Notices at Ibn Saʿd, VII, ii, 186; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, I, ii, 166; Khaṭīb, VIII, 236-239; Ibn Ḥajar, II, 205-206; Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, I, 345.

(812) Sezgin, GAS, I, 91. People were reluctant to believe this. Once when Ḥajjāj was asked if he had really heard the *tafsīr* from Ibn Jurayj, his eye rolled (he was *aʿwar*, one-eyed), and he said: "I heard the *tafsīr* from Ibn Jurayj, and these long ḥadīths, and everything of which I say *ḥaddathanā Ibn Jurayj* I did in fact hear from him." Khaṭīb, VIII, 236-237; cf. Ibn Ḥajar, II, 205.

(813) Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, I, ii, 166.

(814) Ibn Saʿd, VII, ii, 187; Ibn Ḥajar, IX, 309 names an Abū 'l-Mundhir Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Baṣrī, who cannot be the same person.

(815) Ibn Ḥajar, I, 354. No dates are given for Ashʿath, but he transmits from Arṭāh ibn al-Mundhir (d. 162 or 163) and to Abū Ṭāhir [Aḥmad ibn ʿAmr] ibn al-Sarḥ (d. 249 or 255). At Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa*, IV, 137, he tells a story about Hārūn al-Rashīd and Ibn al-Mubārak at al-Raqqa.

this period Abū Zakariyyā' al-Ṭaḥḥān, who died in al-Maṣṣīṣa in 225,(817) and `Abdallāh ibn al-Ḥasan al-Maṣṣīṣī.(818) Ibn Sa`d also mentions the otherwise unknown Manṣūr ibn Hārūn (d. 222),(819) and Abū 'l-Muwaffaq (d. 220).(820)

The greatest achievement of Sunayd [al-Husayn] ibn Dāwūd al-Massīsī al-muḥtasib (d. 221)(821) seems to have been that he received (by dictation) and transmitted the *tafsīr* of Ibn Jurayj from Hajjāj al-a`war.(822) Sunayd seems to have been devoted to Ḥajjāj,(823) and while he transmitted to and from a number of *muhaddithūn*, (his sources include Ibn al-Mubārak), Ḥajjāj seems to have been his master in this science as well. However, some considered Sunayd irresponsible in his treatment of isnāds.(824)

Also belonging to this generation was Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥasan al-Maṣṣīṣī, who transmitted hadīth from Ḥajjāj, Makhlad, and al-Ḥārith. Little else is known about him.(825) It will be noted, however, that he did not transmit from Abū

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(816) Ibn Sa`d, VII, ii, 187.

(817) Ibn Sa`d, VII, ii, 188.

(818) Ibn Ḥajar, VII, 77. He transmits from `Amr ibn `Uthmān al-Ḥimṣī (d. 218 or 219).

(819) Ibn Sa`d, VII, ii, 187.

(820) Ibn Sa`d, VII, ii, 187. He lived in Kafarbatta and died in al-Maṣṣīṣa.

(821) Khaṭīb, VIII, 42-44; Ibn Ḥajar, IV, 244-245. "Sunayd" was a *laqab*.

(822) Sezgin, GAS, I, 31, 91, referring to him as al-Ḥusayn.

(823) Ibn Ḥajar, IV, 244, where Aḥmad says, *kāna Sunayd lazima Ḥajjājan qadīman*.

(824) Some scholars, most notably Aḥmad, tried to rescue Ḥajjāj's hadīth from the pernicious influence of Sunayd, by stating that Sunayd asked tendentious questions about the isnāds of Ibn Jurayj's *Kitāb al-jāmi`* in reading the text back to Ḥajjāj (who, after all, had only one eye). The same results could be achieved by saying that Ḥajjāj transmitted ḥadīth to Sunayd when he [Ḥajjāj] was already in his dotage (*taghayyara*). Ḥajjāj's other ḥadīth was presumed to be sound. Ibn Ḥajar, IV, 244.

Isḥāq or from `Alī ibn Bakkār. This provides some support for the theory of a "quarrel of schools" in al-Maṣṣīṣa.(826)

Ibrāhīm ibn Mahdī al-Maṣṣīṣī (d. 224 or 225) came originally from Baghdad, and was also called al-Ṭarsūsī.(827) His known tradents include no thaghrīs: this may indicate that he came to the *thughūr* late in life. Aḥmad ibn Janāb ibn al-Mughīra (d. 230) also came from Baghdad, and was called al-Ḥadathī as well as al-Maṣṣīṣī. He also has no known thaghrī tradents.(828)

We may have a native son in `Alī ibn Bakkār ibn Hārūn al-Maṣṣīṣī (d. 240), frequently confused with the older, more famous `Alī ibn Bakkār.(829)

Luwayn (Abū Ja`far Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān ibn Ḥabīb ibn Jubayr al-Asadī al-Maṣṣīṣī, d. 245) was one of the most famous of the scholars of the *thughūr*.(830) He was born in Isfahan, and lived in Baghdad where he became a disciple of Ibn `Uyayna (d. 196). At some point, he settled in the *thughūr* (*kāna mimman yurābiṭu bi'l-thughūr*).(831) He may then have already reached old age,(832) and in any case he never acquired a reputation as a warrior or

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(825) Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, I, i, 93; Ibn Ḥajar, I, 114-115. See above, 4.5.3.2, where he transmits a ḥadīth from Ḥajjāj on *ajr al-ghāzī* (Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, III, 16, #2526.) Al-Nasā'ī (215-303) transmitted from him.

(826) See above, 5.5.2.1, on al-Ḥārith ibn `Aṭiyya.

(827) Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, I, i, 138-139; Khaṭīb, VI, 178; Sam`ānī, *Ansāb*, XII, 299; Ibn Ḥajar, I, 169.

(828) Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, I, i, 45; Khaṭīb, IV, 77-78; Ibn Ḥajar, I, 21-22.

(829) Ibn Ḥajar, VII, 286-287, refuting the statement that this `Alī transmitted from Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī.

(830) Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, III, ii, 268; Khaṭīb, V, 292-296; Sam`ānī, XII, 299-300; Ibn Ḥajar, IX, 199. "Luwayn" was a *laqab*, explained at Khaṭīb, V, 294-295; Ibn Ḥajar, IX, 199.

(831) Ibn Ḥajar, IX, 198.

(832) No thaghrīs appear in the lists of his teachers and disciples, except

as an ascetic. In the last year of his life, he quarreled with his sons in al-Maṣṣīṣa, and moved to Adhana, where he died.(833)

Another Maṣṣīṣī who had a long life was Muḥammad ibn Ādam ibn Sulaymān al-Juhanī (d. 250), whose *shuyūkh* included Ibn al-Mubārak.(834)

Yūsuf ibn Saʿīd ibn Musallam (d. 271) appears to have been a local product. He bore the *nisba*s "Maṣṣīṣī" and "Anṭākī," and counted among his teachers ʿAlī ibn Bakkār (probably the elder) and Ḥajjāj al-aʿwar.(835) According to Samʿānī, Yūsuf "traveled to the two Iraqs."

ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Husayn ibn Jābir al-Massīsī al-Imām al-bazzāz went to Damascus in 267. He was known for "stealing hadīth."(836) Abū 'l-Ḥasan Rashīq ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Maṣṣīṣī is an even more obscure figure. We know only that he came to Damascus at some point, and may be situated in time between his teacher Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Baghawī (214-317) and his pupil Tammām ibn Muḥammad [al-Rāzī] (330-414).(837)

From this time until the fall of al-Maṣṣīṣa to the Byzantines in 354, we have evidence of continuous comings and goings of *muḥaddithūn*, but in most cases only a few facts. Typical is the case of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿUbaydallāh ibn Abī Rajā' al-Thaghrī al-Ṭarsūsī al-Maṣṣīṣī al-najjār, who

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for the ubiquitous Ibn al-Mubārak. On a trip to Baghdad in 240, he is said to have claimed to be 113 years old (Khaṭīb, V, 293).

(833) Khaṭīb, V, 296. Again we have a parallel with Ḥajjāj al-aʿwar, who took his family with him from Baghdad to al-Maṣṣīṣa.

(834) Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, III, ii, 209; Samʿānī, XII, 301; Ibn Ḥajar, IX, 34-35.

(835) Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, IV, ii, 224; Samʿānī, XII, 298-299; Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, II, 583-584; Ibn Ḥajar, XI, 414-415. Yūsuf also transmitted from Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Harrānī and Muḥammad ibn Muṣʿab al-Qarqasānī.

(836) Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 366-367.

(837) Khaṭīb, VIII, 438; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb*, V, 322. On Tammām ibn Muḥammad, see Sezgin, GAS, I, 226.

transmitted ḥadīth from Ḥajjāj al-a`war and to al-Nasā'ī, and so may only be assigned to the mid-third century.(838) Similarly, Abū `Abdallāh Aḥmad ibn Nāṣiḥ transmitted *aḥādīth mustawiya* to al-Nasā'ī and to Muḥammad ibn Sufyān (d. after 310).(839) We would like to know more about Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Mahrūl al-Maṣṣīṣī, since he was *imām jāmi` al-Maṣṣīṣa*, but must be content with the fact that Ibn Jumay` al-Ghassānī (305-402) numbered him among his *shuyūkh*.(840) Ibn Jumay` has also recorded the name of `Ubayd ibn `Abd al-Qādir ibn `Ubayd al-Maṣṣīṣī, and told us that his *shaykh* was Abū Umayya al-Ṭarsūsī (d. 273).(841) Muḥammad ibn Sufyān ibn Mūsā al-Maṣṣīṣī was active around 310, and transmitted from Muḥammad ibn Ādam.(842)

From the final period of al-Maṣṣīṣa we have Abū `Abdallāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad al-Maṣṣīṣī al-Ṣūfī al-Ṭayyān, who went to Damascus in 344, where he died in that year. He is said to have followed the *ṭarīqa* of Hudhayfa al-Mar`ashī (see below, 5.5.4).(843) We have a somewhat better-known figure in Shākir ibn `Abdallāh al-Maṣṣīṣī (d. 354), a native of al-Maṣṣīṣa who settled in Baghdad.(844) Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Fatḥ was another native of al-Maṣṣīṣa who went to Baghdad, where he died in 385. In Baghdad he related traditions from his fellow Maṣṣīṣī Muḥammad ibn Sufyān, and from

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(838) Ibn Ḥajar, I, 76.

(839) Ibn Ḥajar, I, 85.

(840) Sam`ānī, *Ansāb*, XII, 300. On Ibn Jumay`, see Ziriklī, *A`lām*, V, 313, citing the 22nd *ṭabaqa* of Dhahabī's *Siyar a`lām al-nubalā'*.

(841) Sam`ānī, XII, 301.

(842) Sam'ānī, XII, 301. Ibn Ḥajar, I, 85, names him as transmitting from Aḥmad ibn Nāṣiḥ al-Maṣṣīṣī. He was mentioned by [Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm] Ibn al-Muqri' (285-381, see Sezgin, GAS, I, 205) in his *Mu`jam*.

(843) Ibn `Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 287. This passage, however, is garbled.

(844) Sam`ānī, XII, 300; Khaṭīb, XII, 300.

the (otherwise unknown) Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Baṭṭāl al-Saʿdī *thumma* al-Maṣṣīṣī.(845)

Abū 'l-Fatḥ Naṣr Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Qawī al-Maṣṣīṣī (d. 540) does not belong to this period, and in any case spent his life in Tyre and Damascus.(846)

5.5.3 Ṭarsūs

Ṭarsūs and al-Maṣṣīṣa appear to have been fairly closely tied in terms of legal administration, at least at times: we find, for instance, one man (Mūsā ibn Dāwūd al-Ḍabbī, d. 216 or 217) described both as *qāḍī Ṭarsūs*(847) and as *qāḍī al-Maṣṣīṣa*,(848) and even as *qāḍī al-thughūr*.(849) The academic communities of these two towns were also closely tied to one another. Nevertheless, the "school of Ṭarsūs" does have a history distinct from that of al-Maṣṣīṣa.

We have seen that ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Mubārak was known to be *kathīr al-ikhtilāf ilā Ṭarsūs*, but that it is doubtful if he could be called a true resident or the founder of a school there.(850) People from other places came together there, perhaps only briefly. For instance, Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Abī Sukayna, who carried Ibn al-Mubārak's letter from Ṭarsūs to

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(845) Khaṭīb, VI, 171.

(846) Samʿānī, XII, 299; Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, IV, 129.

(847) Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, IV, i, 141; Khaṭīb, XIII, 33-34; Ibn Ḥajar, X, 342.

(848) By Ibn ʿAmmār al-Mawṣilī, Khaṭīb, XIII, 34; Ibn Ḥajar, X, 343.

(849) By al-Dāraquṭnī, Khaṭīb, XII, 34, Ibn Ḥajar, X, 343. The title *qāḍī al-thughūr* was later held by al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Anṭākī (d. 319), see Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 291.

(850) Khaṭīb, X, 159; above, 5.3.1. Ibn al-Mubārak used to go to al-Maṣṣīṣa to visit Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī. Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb*, II, 543.

Mecca (above, 5.3), was an Aleppan who transmitted ḥadīth from, among others, Abū Yūsuf (d. 182).(851)

We have no record of scholars settling in Ṭarsūs until Abū Ya`qūb Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥunaynī al-Madanī (d. 216 or 217), who, even though he acquired ḥadīth from Mālik and Sufyān al-Thawrī, was condemned for his ḥadīth.(852) Abū `Abdallāh Mūsā ibn Dāwūd al-Ḍabbī al-Ṭarsūsī (d. 216 or 217) came originally from Kufa, and lived in Baghdad before coming to Ṭarsūs as qāḍī at some unknown date (see above). Like Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥunaynī, he had his ḥadīth from such great masters as Mālik and al-Thawrī. We know of two Ṭarsūsīs who transmitted from him. The first of these, Aḥmad ibn al-Haytham ibn Ḥafṣ, also became qāḍī of Ṭarsūs, very likely as successor to Mūsā ibn Dāwūd;(853) whereas the other, `Īsā ibn Yūnus al-Ṭarsūsī, served as *muftī* in Ṭarsūs, and transmitted ḥadīth from Ḥajjāj al-a`war al-Maṣṣīṣī (d. 206).(854)

The academic life of Ṭarsūs thus began to flourish in the early third century, after a slow beginning. Abū Tawba al-Rabī` ibn Nāfi` al-Ḥalabī (d. 241), who settled in Ṭarsūs at some unknown time, was a lifelong resident of the region, and numbered Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī among his *shuyūkh*. He traveled widely, and became known as an ascetic.(855) `Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn

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(851) Sam`ānī, IV, 211.

(852) Ibn Sa`d, VII, ii, 186; Ibn Ḥajar, I, 222-223. Abū Zur`a said, *ṣāliḥ ya`nī fī dīnihi lā fī ḥadīthihi.*

(853) Ibn Ḥajar, I, 88. No dates are given for him, but he transmitted ḥadīth from Ḥarmala [ibn Yaḥyā ibn `Abdallāh ibn Ḥarmala al-Miṣrī] (d. 244), as well as from Mūsā ibn Dāwūd, and to al-Nasā'ī (d. 303). This line of transmission is confirmed at Ibn Ḥajar, II, 229.

(854) Ibn Ḥajar, VIII, 240, *Wa-kāna yuftī ahl Ṭarsūs.* Abū Dāwūd (d. 275) transmitted from him.

(855) Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, I, ii, 470-471; Ibn `Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, V, 307; Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, II, 472-473; Ibn Ḥajar, III, 251-252.

Yaḥyā al-Ṭarsūsī, known as *al-ḍa`īf*, was also active in the early-to-mid third century.(856) Little is known about `Imrān ibn Mūsā al-Ṭarsūsī, except that he seems to have been a pupil of Ibn al-Mubārak.(857) Ḥāmid ibn Yaḥyā ibn Hāni' al-Balkhī, a disciple of Ibn `Uyayna, settled in Ṭarsūs, and died in 242.(858) Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja`far al-Ṭarsūsī is even more obscure.(859)

With Abū Umayya Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Musallam al-Thaghrī al-Ṭarsūsī (d. 273), we come to perhaps the best known of the scholars of Ṭarsūs.(860) Abū Umayya grew up in Baghdad,(861) and traveled widely, being described as *min ahl al-riḥla*. The authorities were divided on his ḥadīth, some of which he had from Ḥajjāj al-a`war.(862) But Abū Umayya appears to have struck roots in Ṭarsūs, where both his son Ibrāhīm and his grandson Muḥammad figure among his pupils.(863)

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(856) Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, II, ii, 163; Ibn Ḥajar, VI, 19. He transmitted from Ibn `Uyayna (d. 196) and to Abū Dāwūd (d. 275). The nickname *ḍa`īf* here refers to his physical condition, not to his status as a traditionist.

(857) Khaṭīb, X, 162; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa*, IV, 111 (both notices on Ibn al-Mubārak). See Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, III, i, 306, where `Imrān transmits from `Abd al-Ṣamad (d. 235), the *khādim* of Fuḍayl ibn `Iyāḍ; cf. Ibn Ḥajar, VI, 328-329.

(858) Ibn Ḥajar, II, 169-170.

(859) Ibn Ḥajar, I, 71-72. He transmitted from Yaḥyā ibn Ma`īn (d. 233) and `Āṣim ibn al-Naḍr (n.d.), and to al-Nasā'ī. Ibn Ḥajar, V, 58, confirms the line of transmission `Āṣim--Aḥmad--Nasā'ī.

(860) Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, III, ii, 187; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, p. 147; Sam`ānī, IX, 65; III, 137; Khaṭīb, I, 394-396; Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, II, 581; Ibn Ḥajar, IX, 15-16.

(861) Ibn Ḥibbān says he came from a Meccan family; Khaṭīb (I, 396) mentions Sijistānī origins.

(862) However, he relates from Ibn Jurayj through Abū `Āṣim al-Nabīl [=al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Makhlad al-Shaybānī al-Baṣrī] (d. 212 or 213, see Khaṭīb, I, 294-295), and not through Ḥajjāj.

As in the case of al-Maṣṣīṣa, our information on the scholars of Ṭarsūs grows thin in the late third and the fourth centuries. Al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥabīb al-Kirmānī settled in Ṭarsūs and died there in 291.(864) Abū 'l-Ḥāris Fayd ibn al-Ḥāḍir al-Awlāsī (d. 297) was a native thaghrī who seems to have become an ascetic. He died in Ṭarsūs.(865) Abū `Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥakam al-Ṭarsūsī went to Baghdad, where he died some time after 315.(866) Al-Ḥusayn ibn Ḥasan [not Ḥusayn] ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥabīb al-Kirmānī al-Ṭarsūsī was the son of an immigrant scholar (see above), who went to Damascus in 354, the year of the fall of Ṭarsūs, and died in that year.(867) Abū 'l-Ḥasan `Alī ibn `Abdallāh al-Ṭarsūsī al-Ṣūfī made his way to Bukhara, and died there in 382.(868) Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Sabbāgh died (apparently in Damascus) in 387.(869) Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Bandār ibn Abān al-Isbahānī al-qāḍī al-Ṭarsūsī included among his teachers one `Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-`Alā' al-Ṭarsūsī, who is otherwise unknown. He went to Nishapur at the time of the fall of Ṭarsūs, and died in 370.(870) Finally, Abū 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad

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(863) Ibn Ḥajar, IX, 15. On the grandson, Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Abī Umayya al-Ṭarsūsī, see Sam`ānī, IX, 65; nothing is said about him except that he transmitted from his grandfather and to Ibn Jumay` al-Ghassānī. Of the son Ibrāhīm, even less is known.

(864) Ibn Ḥajar, II, 253-254.

(865) Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa*, IV, 281-282.

(866) Khaṭīb, I, 408.

(867) Ibn `Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 290; correct text to *qadima al-mutarjam* min *Ṭarsūs*.

(868) Sam`ānī, IX, 66-67.

(869) Ibn `Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, II, 251-252. No tradents listed.

(870) Sam`ānī, IX, 65-66. It is not clear if the term "al-qāḍī al-Ṭarsūsī" means that he was qāḍī of Ṭarsūs.

al-bazzāz [or al-bazzār] al-ghāzī al-Ṭarsūsī (d. 409 or 410) was a pupil of Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Abī Umayya, and died in Jerusalem.(871) Abū 'l-Barakāt Ṣāfī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥasan al-Ṭarsūsī is too late for this period.(872)

5.5.4 *Al-Ḥadath, Mar`ash, Adhana*

These towns never developed schools of their own.(873) Their geographical proximity to Ṭarsūs and al-Maṣṣīṣa is the most likely reason for this.

We know of only one scholar who settled in al-Ḥadath, `Īsā ibn Yūnus ibn Abī Isḥāq al-Sabī`ī al-Kūfī (d. 187 or 191).(874) `Īsā does not seem to have acquired his ḥadīth from his famous grandfather Abū Isḥāq al-Sabī`ī. He was, however, an expert on the tradition of al-Awzā`ī.(875)

The strange figure Ḥudhayfa ibn Qatāda al-Mar`ashī (d. 207) also belongs to this early period of the *thughūr*. Ḥudhayfa does not appear in the biographical dictionaries of ḥadīth scholars. This is because he was too preoccupied with his religious observances (*ri`āya*) to take time with scholarship (*riwāya*), even though he had been a companion of al-Thawrī.(876) He was

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(871) Khaṭīb, I, 415-416; Sam`ānī, I, 66.

(872) Ibn `Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 361.

(873) In Sam`ānī's *Ansāb*, the *nisba* "al-Ḥadathī" refers to the residents of al-Ḥadītha in Iraq.

(874) Ibn Sa`d, VII, ii, 185; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarh*, III, i, 291-292; Ibn Hajar, VIII, 237-240; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Sifa*, IV, 260-261.

(875) At Ibn Hajar, VIII, 239, al-Walīd ibn Muslim (d. 195) says, "I don't care if anyone differs from me concerning al-Awzā`ī, unless it is Īsā ibn Yūnus, for I believe that he transmits correctly [from him]" (*fa-innī ra'aytu akhdhahu akhdhan muḥkaman*). See also the garbled passage at VIII, 238, where Aḥmad calls `Īsā *sunna fī 'l-ghazw wa-sunna fī 'l-ḥajj*. Aḥmad then compares Īsā with Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī, and finally sides with Abū Isḥāq because of *makānuhu min al-Islām*.

(876) Ibn al-Jawzī, *Sifa*, IV, 270. *Lā naḥfaẓu li-Ḥudhayfa musnadan wa-kāna mashghūlan bi'l-ri`āya `an al-riwāya.*

known later as the founder of a *ṭarīqa*.(877) We also know that his ascetism took the form of *al-ḥalāl al-maḥḍ*. Some of his sayings help to define that practice: he declares himself opposed to accepting any gifts, and says, "Watch where you get the bread which you eat."(878)

In a later generation, two Mar`ashī traditionists appear concerning whom little can be said, other than that they seem to have lived in the mid fourth century.(879)

Three Adhanīs are known to Sam`ānī through Abū Bakr Ibn al-Muqri'. Two of these transmitted from Luwayn al-Maṣṣīṣī: Maḍā' ibn `Abd al-Bāqī al-Azdī al-Adhanī, a native of Adhana, and Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn `Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Dāwūd al-Kattānī, who settled there (*wa-kāna mimman sakana Adhana murābiṭan*).(880)

5.5.5 *Malaṭya*

This town, isolated in the *thughūr al-Jazīra*, developed what we may call a school of its own. However, this school had a disastrous reputation. "There is no such thing as a trustworthy traditionist among the Malaṭīs," said `Abd al-Ghanī ibn Sa`īd (d. 409).(881) "I have heard," said Sam`ānī, "that most

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(877) See above on Abū `Abdallāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad al-Maṣṣīṣī al-Ṣūfī al-Ṭayyān.

(878) Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa*, IV, 270. *Unẓur khubzaka* [not *khabaraka*, as printed] *min ayna ta'kulu*.

(879) Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥajjāj ibn Muḥammad al-Mar`ashī transmitted from his father (unknown), and is mentioned by Ibn Jumay` (Sam`ānī, XII, 192). `Abdallāh ibn Yazīd al-Dhihlī al-Mar`ashī was a native of Mar`ash who went to Egypt, perhaps at the time of the Byzantine conquests (Sam`ānī, XII, 192).

(880) Sam`ānī, I, 146-147. The third of these was Abū 'l-Mujāhid Muhammad ibn Yūnus ibn Khālid.

(881) Khaṭīb, XII, 446; Ibn Ḥajar, XII, 423.

of those traditionists who came out of [Malaṭya] were weak" (*ḍu'afā'*).(882)

Malaṭya's abysmal standard in the science of tradition was first set by Isḥāq ibn Najīḥ al-Malaṭī, who appears to have been active in the middle and late second century.(883) In good thaghrī fashion, he learned his traditions from, among others, al-Awzā'ī and Ibn Jurayj. At some point he went to live in Baghdad; but this only helped to spread his reputation as a fabricator or falsifier of ḥadīth.(884) The *jarḥ* experts heaped their abuse on him. Ibn Ḥibbān called him an Antichrist (*dajjāl min al-dajājila*).(885) Yaḥyā ibn Ma'īn called him "a liar, an enemy of God, a foul, evil man."(886) Among his fabrications are a ḥadīth stating that God forgives adulterers but not pimps,(887) and one which states, "If anyone pronounces on matters pertaining to our religion according to his own opinion, then kill him."(888)

The fledgling school of Malaṭya then fell silent for around a century, perhaps understandably. We hear from it again with the appearance of al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad al-Malaṭī al-Ṣūfī, who learned ḥadīth from

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(882) Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, XII, 421-422.

(883) Khaṭīb, VI, 321-324; Sam'ānī, XII, 422; Ibn Ḥajar, I, 252-253. Sam'ānī (XII, 422) says that Tammām ibn Najīḥ lived in Malaṭya, but this is unlikely to be the case. Tammām lived too early (he heard traditions from al-Hasan al-Basrī), and in other sources is called al-Dimashqī or al-Halabī. See Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, I, i, 445; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, X, 441-444; Ibn Ḥajar, I, 510-511.

(884) See Ibn Ḥajar, I, 252: Ibn Abī Shayba said, "There were people in Baghdad, of whom Isḥāq was one, who used to fabricate (*yaḍa'ūna*) hadīth." Cf. Sam'ānī, II, 422, *kāna [Isḥāq] yaḍa'u al-ḥadīth 'alā rasūl Allāh*.

(885) Ibn Ḥajar, I, 253.

(886) Khaṭīb, VI, 323; Ibn Ḥajar, I, 252.

(887) *Yatūbu 'alā 'l-zānī wa'l-zāniya wa-lā yatūbu 'alā 'l-qawwād*. Khaṭīb, VI, 322.

(888) *Man qāla fī dīninā bi-ra'yihi fa'qtulūhu*. Khaṭīb, VI, 322. Cf. Dārimī, *Sunan*, I, 60, #207.

Luwayn (d. 245), and who was still alive in 323.(889) Like his predecessor Isḥāq ibn Najīḥ, al-Qāsim was damned as a fabricator of ḥadīth. He was accused in particular of ascribing *'ajā'ib min al-abāṭīl* to Luwayn (*'an* Mālik).(890) Al-Qāsim may, like his fellow-Ṣūfī Ḥudhayfa ibn Qatāda, have been more interested in *ri'āya* than in *riwāya*.

The obscure figure Abū Ayyūb Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Sulaymān al-Malaṭī al-Ḥāfiẓ also lived in the mid-to-late third century. He is mentioned as having met Dhū 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 246), answering his questions in verse.(891)

The remaining Malaṭīs whose names have come down to us seem to belong to the fourth century. With a few exceptions, we cannot say much about them; they are not even identified as Ṣūfīs.

Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Musallam al-Malaṭī was of Ḥimyarī origin, a grammarian, and imām of the "old mosque" of Malaṭya.(892) Abū Hishām Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-'Abbās al-Malaṭī was active as a *muḥaddith* in 'Ukbarā, but it is impossible to say when.(893) Isḥāq ibn Maḥmūd ibn al-Jarrāḥ al-Malaṭī settled in Nishapur when he had already reached maturity.(894) Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn 'Uthmān ibn Abī Salāba was a native of Malaṭya who must have lived in the mid-fourth century, since both

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(889) Khaṭīb, XII, 446; Sam'ānī, XII, 423. Transmission from Luwayn confirmed, Khaṭīb, V, 295; Khaṭīb says that al-Qāsim learned from Luwayn in Baghdad.

(890) Khaṭīb, XII, 446.

(891) Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 243.

(892) Sam'ānī, XII, 423. The two men from whom he transmits are unknown; Sam'ānī knows of him from Abū Sa'īd ibn Yūnus al-Miṣrī.

(893) Khaṭīb, I, 409 (not 494, as in *Fihrist*). Sam'ānī, XII, 423.

(894) Sam'ānī, XII, 422-423, citing the *Ta'rīkh Naysābūr* of al-Ḥākim (321-423).

Abū Bakr Ibn al-Muqri' and Ibn Jumay` al-Ghassānī heard him speak. The latter, however, disclaimed responsibility for what he heard on that occasion.(895) Ibn al-Muqri' also heard Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Abī 'l-Shaykh al-Faqīh al-Malaṭī,(896) and Ghiyāth ibn Aḥmad ibn `Uqba al-Tamīmī, who acted as imām of the *masjid jāmi`* of Malatya, and transmitted from (the otherwise unknown) Fuḍayl ibn Muḥammad al-Malaṭī.(897) Not even a rough date can be assigned to Muḥammad ibn `Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn `Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Sufyān al-Malaṭī, who transmitted ḥadīth from his (equally unknown) grandfather, who was also a Malaṭī.(898) Ḍirār ibn `Amr al-Malaṭī transmitted from (the unknown) Yazīd al-Raqqāsh and the *ahl al-Baṣra*, and was condemned for his ḥadīth.(899) Abū 'l-`Alā' `Abd al-Majīd ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir al-Malaṭī was the grandson of a Malaṭī who had fled the town. He grew up in Ḥimṣ.(900)

Finally, the best-known scholar to bear the *nisba* "Malaṭī" was the Shāfi`ite Abū 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Ahmad ibn `Abd al-Raḥmān al-Malaṭī, who wrote the *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa'l-radd `alā ahl al-ahwā' wa'l-bida`*, and who died in Ashkelon in 377.(901) He has no recorded connection with the other known scholars of Malaṭya, and in any case spent most or all of his life away from Malaṭya, which had already become uninhabitable for the Muslims by the 320's. The *faḍā'il* of Malaṭya thus include not only the worst ḥadīth, but also the worst heresiography.

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(895) *Barā'atī min `uhdatihi.* Sam`ānī, XII, 424.

(896) Sam`ānī, XII, 423.

(897) Sam`ānī, XII, 474.

(898) Sam`ānī, XII, 422.

(899) Sam`ānī, XII, 422.

(900) Sam`ānī, XII, 422.

(901) Brockelmann, GAL, SI, 348; Sezgin, GAS, I, 607.

5.6 Conclusion

Although we have a fair amount of information on these thaghrīs, we cannot draw for them the sort of group portrait which has been attempted, for example, for the inhabitants of Qazvin and Nishapur.

The first two generations of Maṣṣīṣīs form, for the most part, a distinct group whose common interests--and conflicts--can to some extent be identified. This period of greatest conformity and unity among the Maṣṣīṣīs coincides with the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who maintained a close connection with the *thughūr* all his life (see above, Chapter III). It is probably no accident that of all the caliphs who ruled in the period dealt with in this chapter, Hārūn is the only one who makes personal appearances (and frequent ones) in the biographies of thaghrī scholars.

Afterwards, however, the *thughūr* became less of a distinctive entity, from the academic point of view. Naturally, we have many examples of thaghrīs transmitting ḥadīth to other thaghrīs, imitating one other's ascetic practices, and so on. Nonetheless, the fact remains that most of the scholars about whom we have much information seem to have come to the *thughūr* when they were already formed intellectually, and had already accumulated most of their learning. The lists of their *shuyūkh*--and, more surprisingly, the lists of those to whom they transmitted ḥadīth--tend to identify them as scholars in touch, to the extent of their abilities, with what was then current in the Islamic world of scholarship, and in some cases only marginally involved with the place from which they derived their *nisba*. It may be that our documentation for most of these thaghrī scholars is simply too thin. And it is certainly true that scholars from every part of the Islamic world traveled constantly in the pursuit of learning. Nonetheless, it can be argued

that the *nisbas* "Ṭarsūsī" and "Maṣṣīṣī" had a different force from, say, "Baṣrī" and "Dimashqī."

The sources repeatedly describe immigration to the *thughūr* as *ribāṭ*.(902) *Ribāṭ* can mean performing garrison duty, without going on expeditions.(903) In the hadīth, the murābiṭ--one who performs garrison duty or some form of noncombatant duty--is guaranteed the same (heavenly) reward as the ghāzī, who actually fights. To say *māta murābiṭan* therefore means "he received a martyr's reward," that is, Paradise, even if he did not actually die in battle. Thus Awzā`ī, the great *shaykh* of the *thughūr*, died as a murābiṭ (*māta murābiṭan*), even though his death resulted from an accident in the bath.(904)

Some, even many of the thaghrī scholars may actually have gone to war.(905) This does not change the fact that *ribāṭ* for them means a kind of merit which one acquires through traveling, learning, and teaching, and through imitation of a *qudwa*, that is, another scholar, who has achieved preeminence in the district of the *thughūr* and in the academic subjects of jihād and ghazawāt.

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(902) *Wa-kāna mimman rābaṭa bi'l-thaghr* thus identifies a settler, while *wa-kāna min ahl Ṭarsūs* identifies a native.

(903) Shāfi`ī, *Umm*, IV, 91; above, 4.4.4.7.

(904) Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, p. 180, #1425; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Taqdima*, p. 202.

(905) Though some of them could scarcely have done so in any case, such as Ḥajjāj ibn Muḥammad, who had only one eye, and `Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad, who was known as "the weak" (*al-ḍa`īf*). `Alī ibn Bakkār is described as a warrior, but he also wept until he went blind, see above, 5.5.2.1.

5.6.1 Appendix: al-ḥalāl al-maḥḍ, al-`ubbād al-khushn

Ḥudhayfa ibn Qatāda al-Mar`ashī once sent greetings to `Alī ibn Bakkār in al-Maṣṣīṣa. `Alī replied:

> Peace upon you and upon him [Ḥudhayfa]. I know that he has been eating *ḥalāl* for thirty years, and I would rather meet the devil face to face than meet him.(906)

This passage shows that there may have been some hostility on the part of some thaghrīs toward the seekers of *ḥalāl*.(907) We have noted the rather surprising lack of exchange of learning between Abū Isḥāq al-Fazārī and Ibrāhīm ibn Adham;(908) some such hostility may also be in evidence here.

The men who concerned themselves with *al-ḥalāl al-maḥḍ* constituted a distinct group among the thaghrīs.

> [Al-Mu`āfā ibn `Imrān said:] There were ten scholars in the old days who used to occupy themselves strenuously with *ḥalāl*. They would only eat that which they recognized as *ḥalāl*. Otherwise they would ingest dust (*al-turāb*). Ḥudhayfa al-Mar`ashī was one of them.(909)

Al-Mu`āfā does not give the names of the other nine, but we may assume that Ibrāhīm ibn Adham was one of them. Makhlad ibn al-Ḥusayn must also be included,(910) as should (probably) Khalaf ibn Tamīm, because of his associa-

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(906) Abū Nu`aym, *Ḥilya*, IX, 318-319; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa*, IV, 267; above, 5.5.4. *Innī la-a`rifuhu ya'kulu al-ḥalāl mundhu thalāthīn sana, wa-la-an alqā al-shayṭān `iyānan aḥabbu ilayya min an yalqānī wa-alqāhu.* The following sentence, which seems to have been tacked on, explains away this apparently hostile statement: here `Alī says that he is afraid that he would honor Ḥudhayfa too highly, and thus become devoted to something other than God.

(907) If the text is correct, then it may imply something different (see previous note). However, the plain meaning of the passage quoted clearly implies some such hostility.

(908) Above, 5.5.2.1.

(909) Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa*, IV, 269.

(910) Ibn Ḥajar, X, 72-73, *wa-kāna [Makhlad] min al-`ubbād al-khushn mimman lā ya'kulu illā al-ḥalāl al-maḥḍ.*

tion with Ibrāhīm and his asceticism.(911) This group of ten may also have included `Abdallāh ibn al-Sarī al-Anṭākī al-Zāhid, who is identified in the sources as an ascetic and as a companion of Khalaf (though not explicitly as a seeker of *ḥalāl*).(912)

But we may be sure that this list of ten included Yūsuf ibn Asbāṭ ibn Wāsil al-Shaybānī al-Kūfī (d. 195), who lived in or near Antioch.(913) Yūsuf practiced extreme poverty,(914) and "would only eat *ḥalāl*. If he couldn't find any, he would eat dust" (*turāb*).(915) One of Yūsuf's sayings seems to incorporate Ibrāhīm ibn Adham's teaching on *`amal* into a paradox:

> Perform works like a man who will only be saved through works, and trust [in God] like a man who will only be destroyed by that which is preordained for him. (*I`mal `amala rajulin lā yunjīhi illā `amaluhu, wa-tawakkal tawakkula rajulin lā yuṣībuhu illā mā kutiba lahu.*)(916)

It is probably impossible to identify the remaining five seekers of *ḥalāl* with any certainty. Many of the the thaghrī scholars earned the epithet *zāhid*, but not all *zuhhād* followed this practice.(917) However, there may be some connection between these seekers of *ḥalāl* (who belong to the first two

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(911) Ibn Ḥajar, III, 149. Ya`qūb ibn Shayba described Khalaf as *aḥad al-nussāk ṣaḥaba Ibrāhīm ibn Adham*. Ibn Ma`īn said that Khalaf was *miskīn*, and Abū Ḥātim considered him one of *al-`ubbād al-khushn*.

(912) Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, II, ii, 78; Khaṭīb, IX, 471-472; Sam`ānī, IX, 67; Ibn Ḥajar, V, 233-234. `Abdallāh ibn al-Sarī's ḥadīth was condemned; the *`ajā'ib* which he attempted to transmit included a long ḥadīth on the merits of Antioch.

(913) Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa*, IV, 262-263; Ibn Ḥajar, XI, 407-408.

(914) "For forty years now I haven't owned two shirts" (*qamīṣatayn*). Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa*, IV, 263.

(915) Ibn Ḥajar, XI, 408.

(916) Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifa*, IV, 242.

(917) For instance, Ibrāhīm al-Fazārī and `Alī ibn Bakkār were both considered *min al-zuhhād*, while neither of them belonged to this club (they may even have been hostile to it).

generations of thaghrīs) and those ascetics (of later generations) who were noted for their harsh practices (*al-'ubbād al-khushn*).(918) These included such devotees as Abū Tawba al-Rabī' ibn Nāfi' al-Ṭarsūsī al-Ḥalabī (d. 241), who used to walk around barefoot with a *ṭawīla* on his head.(919) 'Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Ṭarsūsī was known as *al-ḍa'īf*" ("the weak") because of the effects of his holy exertions (*li-kathrat 'ibādatihi*).(920)

In some of the otherwise unknown *'ubbād* mentioned by Ibn al-Jawzī,(921) we may see some of these trends continued. For instance, (the unknown) Abū Yūsuf al-Ghasūlī would take part in the *ghazw*, and while the others were eating the enemy's provisions (*min dhabā'iḥ al-Rūm wa-min fawākihim*), he would abstain. They would tell him that this food was *ḥalāl*, but he would reply, "[True] abstinence is abstinence from *ḥalāl*" (*innamā al-zuhd fī 'l-ḥalāl*).(922) And in one case, the obsession with diet may be traced to the fourth century. Abū 'l-Khayr al-Tīnānī (d. 340) went to live in the mountains near al-Maṣṣīṣa after vowing that he would eat only what the wind blew in his direction. This extreme *tawakkul* seems to be the opposite of Ibrāhīm ibn Adham's concept of *'amal*. In any case, Abū 'l-Khayr was mistaken for a highway robber, and had his hand cut off.(923)

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(918) Makhlad and Khalaf were already *min al-'ubbād al-khushn*, see above.

(919) Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, II, 472-473; Ibn Ḥajar, III, 252. *Wa-yuqālu innahu kāna min al-abdāl raḥimahu 'llāh*.

(920) Ibn Ḥajar, VI, 19; above, 5.5.3.

(921) *Ṣifa*, IV, 273-288. These have no dates and, for the most part, no individual traits.

(922) *Ṣifa*, IV, 277. This echoes precisely the practice of Ibrāhīm ibn Adham, above, 5.4.

(923) *Ibid.*, IV, 282-284. He was known thereafter as "al-aqṭa'."

Chapter VI

GENERAL CONCLUSION

6.1 The Idea of the Thughūr

> I said to her, "How did you find your way here,
> when between us there lie
> Dulūk, and the mountain heights, overpowering
> [human strength],
>
> And Jayḥān, Jayḥān of the armies, and Ālis,
> and the rugged hill of Khazāzā, and the harsh ravines?"
>
> *Fa-qultu lahā kayfa 'ihtadayti wa-dūnanā*
> *Dulūku wa-ashrāfu 'l-jibāli 'l-qawāhiru*
>
> *wa-Jayḥānu Jayḥānu 'l-juyūshi wa-Ālisun*
> *wa-ḥazmu Khazāzā wa'l-shu'ūbu 'l-'awāsiru*(924)

> O who has seen the mountain passes,
> the highest of which loom in the way of meeting the beloved.
>
> *Yā man ra'ā lī 'l-durūba shāmikhatan*
> *dūna liqā'i 'l-ḥabībi aṭwaluhā*(925)

Arabic literature tended to treat the *thughūr* according to set themes which lasted, in some cases, from the Umayyad period until the Byzantine reconquest and beyond. The *thughūr* often figure as they do here, as an obstacle (*sadd*). Remoteness is another of their frequently-mentioned characteristics. But at

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(924) 'Adī ibn al-Riqā' (fl. 60-100/680-719, see Sezgin, GAS, II, 321-322). Verses at Yāqūt, *Buldān*, II, 259; Nöldeke, "Der Paradiesfluss Ǧihon in Arabien?" ZDMG LXIV (1890), pp. 699-700. The poet's beloved appears to him in a dream. Khazāzā (an Arabian toponym) remains unaccounted for.

(925) Abū Firās (320-357/932-968), *Dīwān* (Beirut, 1959), p. 241. From the *Rūmiyyāt*, written in captivity.

the same time, the *thughūr* are accessible: from the entire Dār al-Islām, volunteers (*muṭṭawwi'a*) pour into them constantly. The expeditions and raids proceed from there with ritual regularity. And this place of martyrdom, where placenames may recall those of Paradise,(926) is itself something of a holy place (above, 3.6.3). By taking up residence there, one acquires religious merit. And above all, the *thughūr* are part of the immutable order of things. We even find the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus I expressing such a view.(927)

However, it is often difficult to say when the dominant themes and patterns first emerged in our texts. We may now ask if the picture which our sources present of the early 'Abbāsid *thughūr* was colored, or even created, according to notions current at a later time; or if (as may be the case in these two specimens of verse) the earliest formation, the first vision of things imposed itself on succeeding generations.

In the geographical literature, the former appears to be the case. The geographers describe a system at once neat and complex, one which maintains side by side frozen images of systems which in reality succeeded one another (above, 1.2). As a result, this literature is of limited value for strictly historical purposes; we may note instead the geographers' love of an imagined order of things.

In biography we have identified the crucial issue of imitating a model or exemplar (*al-iqtidā'*). The great models (*qudwas*) of the *thughūr* belonged to the first generation of scholars. These men have therefore received far more

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(926) The Jayḥān, like its Central Asian counterpart the Jayḥūn, seems to derive its name from the Biblical river of Paradise Giḥōn (Genesis 2:13). See Nöldeke, *art. cit.*

(927) Georgius Monachus, p. 773, *horous arkhaious kai patrōous*, "the ancient frontiers inherited from [our] ancestors." See above, 3.6.2.

attention in the sources than have the thaghrīs of later generations. But the information which we have concerning them tends to be highly stylized, even when not obviously exaggerated. The needs and habits of later times have imposed themselves retrospectively on this early `Abbāsid material.

The question of *ju`l* takes this process of projecting onto the past several degrees farther. Practices which seem to date from the reign of Mu`āwiya are approved and condemned according to the precept and practice first of Followers, then of Companions, and finally of the Prophet himself, according to the familiar Schachtian scheme. But one particularly nagging problem remains. Something called *ju`l* did actually exist at some time, and its existence did create problems, both practical and theoretical. But as we read our texts, we cannot say if the debates which they report reflect conflicts between, say, the government and the military administration on the one hand, and the Islamic purists on the other; or if they represent discussions among the jurists on questions which actually have to do with other matters. Both kinds of debate probably took place. We, however, cannot identify the moment of transition from one to the other.

Finally, we must ask about history itself. The information which the chronicles present on the *thughūr* seems least susceptible to stylization or *Tendenz*. Nonetheless, problems arise similar to those encountered in the other genres. It would appear from the historical sources that `Abbāsid administration in the *thughūr* and adjoining areas was notoriously fluid, with overlapping jurisdictions and imprecise designations of office and length of tenure. While this may well have been the case to a large extent, the sources have also added their own measure of confusion. Harmonization of these sources has proved possible in many cases. However, two separate kinds of

confusion remain, arising from the fluid nature of administration itself, and from the desire of certain writers to portray events according to their own notions. Again, we do not know where the boundary lies.

6.2 End of the "Umayyad North"

However, the historical sources, combined with numismatic evidence, will permit the following sketch of events.

In the later Umayyad period, the provinces of al-Jazīra, Armenia, Arrān, and Azerbaijan fell under the control of a single governor. This governor came usually, though not always, from the ruling house: Muḥammad ibn Marwān, Maslama ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, and Marwān ibn Muḥammad derived their military strength from this huge area. These great lords waged war on two fronts, against the Byzantines and the Khazars, of whom the latter were often the more formidable opponent.(928) The administrative unity of these northwestern provinces remained intact during the reign of Abū 'l-ʿAbbās, when Abū Jaʿfar held this super-governorship, in a sense as heir to Marwān.

However, matters changed during Abū Jaʿfar's own caliphate. This reign began with the revolt of the caliph's uncle ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAlī, who tried to gather under his control the military might of the entire northwestern section of the Islamic empire from his strongpoint in the *thughūr* (above, 2.5). Abū Jaʿfar then proceeded with his "rotation policy" (above, 2.8.1). While Ṣāliḥ ibn ʿAlī remained entrenched in Syria throughout most of this reign, and al-ʿAbbās ibn Muḥammad in al-Jazīra, the caliph sent other commanders to the *thughūr* in regular succession. Armenia and its governor no longer con-

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(928) The existence of this administrative unity has been proved on numismatic grounds. See M. Bates, forthcoming paper; D.A. Spellberg, "The Janza Dirhams: Administrative and Historical Significance," *Museum Notes of the American Numismatic Society* (forthcoming); M.G. Morony, *Iraq After the Muslim Conquest* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 135-136.

tributed to the Byzantine wars, as the Armenians became demoted to the status of a subject people (above, 3.4.1).

Under these circumstances the *thughūr* took shape. This narrow line of fixed points no longer depended on the Armenian hinterland. Al-Manṣūr at the same time tried to avoid entrusting affairs entirely to the governors of Syria and al-Jazīra. He therefore broke up the once-unified "Umayyad North" and created the *thughūr* in one and the same process.

However, we find a restoration of the old unity in a new form during the caliphate of al-Mahdī. Hārūn led great expeditions in 163 and 165; after the first of these he was made governor of "the Maghrib, Armenia, and Azerbaijan," with Yaḥyā the Barmakid in charge of his chancery.(929) The *thughūr* seem to have belonged to this great division of the Caliphate, and to have served Hārūn and the Barmakids as a power base in their struggle with Mūsā al-Hādī and his allies.(930)

Furthermore, the Hārūnābād/al-Hārūniyya coinage indicates that at least for the years 168-171 the *thughūr* were connected administratively with the province Armenia (above, 3.4). This amounted to a restoration of the old unity of the northwestern provinces.

The lesson seems to have been that the northwestern provinces, especially if made to include Syria, might constitute a formidable base for opponents and rebels, but only if these gained control of the military resources massed for the Byzantine wars: which during the reign of al-Manṣūr had come to mean the *thughūr*.

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(929) Ṭabarī, III, 545.

(930) Bonner, "Al-Khalīfa al-Mardī."

No doubt with this in mind, Hārūn created the new district of al-ʿAwāṣim upon succeeding to the rule in 170. During much of his reign, Hārūn managed affairs there *in situ*. But even at other times, governors and warlords (such as ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ṣāliḥ) were not allowed to grow in strength past a certain point. Thus, even if Hārūn failed in his attempt to make an independent province of al-ʿAwāṣim, he did succeed in breaking up, for once and for all, the old "Umayyad North." What he left in its place, however, proved less stable.

6.3 The Caliph and his Rivals

The conflicts which we have identified in the sources (above, 6.1) will now help us to understand the emergence of the *thughūr*. For they all point to a dispute which assumed different forms in the early ʿAbbāsid period, but which never quieted down: the debate over the role of the Imām in Islamic society.

The historical sources are frequently at odds with one another over the issue of jurisdiction. This most often boils down to the question of whether a certain governor or governors controlled the frontier area, or whether the Caliph did this, either directly or through other agents. This pattern holds true for the reign of al-Manṣūr, less so for his successors. In the "Muslim synoptics," especially Balādhurī, the Caliph usually wins out. In Yaʿqūbī and Khalīfa, however, the governor (especially Ṣāliḥ ibn ʿAlī) has more scope; this may well be the more accurate version. At any rate, this tension is central and palpable.

Al-Manṣūr's rivals in the *thughūr*, who were his own relatives, did not seek simply to grab power. Ṣāliḥ ibn ʿAlī in particular tried to monopolize the *faḍl al-jihād* for his own branch of the family.(931) This may have

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(931) See the account of Ṣāliḥ's two sisters fulfilling their vow to perform

amounted to a claim to at least certain attributes of the imāmate.

From the 150's onward, this threat from provincial governors became less acute. But a new and more enduring challenge then arose from the *thughūr*. From this same decade dates the first recorded activity of Muslim men of learning in the region. At least some of these scholars became independent foci of religious authority, in a place partly beyond the caliph's reach (above, 5.2-4). Furthermore, as the caliphs al-Mahdī and Hārūn developed an interest in jihād, they had naturally to turn to these academic specialists for instruction in the subject.

A kind of rivalry seems to have arisen. In panegyric Hārūn appears as a super-ghāzī, with the other fighters and the community pushed out of the picture.(932) But in biographical works, which naturally favor the scholars, we find ambiguity over Hārūn and the role of the caliph in general; and where there is overt rivalry, the scholars always come out on top (above, 3.6.2). But while Hārūn played the game according to the scholars' rules, he still found ways of raising the stakes to his own advantage. His attempts at "sacralization" of al-`Awāṣim (above, 3.5.5.1-2, 3.6.3.1-2) are perhaps to be understood this way, as is his tendency to arrogate the *faḍl al-jihād* to himself and his heirs.

At the same time, this was not simply a quarrel of caliphs against scholars. Al-Shāfi`ī, alone among the early scholars,(933) emphasizes the responsibility of the Imām for supervising the community in its conduct of jihād (above, 4.4.4.1). For Shāfi`ī, this responsibility includes, first of all, defense of the frontiers of Islam (*sadd aṭrāf al-Muslimīn bi'l-rijāl*). We

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jihād, Ṭabarī, III, 125; above, 2.6.3.

(932) E.g., Ṭabarī, III, 696-698; above, 3.6.2.

(933) A. Noth, *Heiliger Krieg und heiliger Kampf*, p. 45.

find a similar emphasis on defense of the frontiers in panegyric of Hārūn (*wa-suddat bi-Hārūna 'l-thughūru*, above, 3.1), and in ḥadīth.(934)

The person of the caliph has become closely associated with the defensive aspect of jihād. We may see this in Hārūn's "official" name for the frontier district, *al-`awāṣim*, "the protectors" or "the inviolate ones."(935) But this does not simply mean that the Muslims had gone on the defensive, after suffering a decline in military strength. The jihād continued unabated in its offensive aspect during these years (above, 2.1); and there was nothing new in the early `Abbāsid period about the need for defensive measures. Rather, we have here the expression of a certain view of jihād which accorded pride of place to the Imām of the Muslims, and which at the same time made a virtue of these defensive measures, and in general of measures taken for the good of the entire community.

We now may be in a better position to understand why the fixed, stationary conception of the *thughūr* lived as long as it did in the Islamic view of the world. This conception was originally inseparable from the Caliph himself.(936) But in the early `Abbāsid period, the *thughūr* were not at first

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(934) Aḥmad, *Musnad*, II, 168, *awwal man yadkhulu al-janna min khalq Allāh al-fuqarā' wa'l-muhājirūn alladhīna tusaddu bihim al-thughūr*.

(935) *`Awāṣim* would normally be considered plural of the feminine *`āṣima*, which calls to mind the epithet of Medina *al-madīna al-`āṣima*, equivalent in meaning to *al-madīna al-`adhrā'*, "the inviolate," "the chaste." See dictionaries.

(936) This association of Caliph and *thughūr* continued for centuries afterward. We see this in the following account, taken by Ibn al-`Adīm from al-Ṭarsūsī, of the last *khuṭba* delivered in Ṭarsūs at the time of the city's fall in 354/965 (Canard, "Quelques observations," p. 52): "Celui que avait été sollicité pour la prononcer, et qui venait de rentrer d'une ambassade infructueuse en Egypte, refusa d'être le dernier à prêcher au *minbar* de Tarse (les habitants devaient en effet quitter la ville le mercredi suivant). Il fut remplacé au pied levé par un cheikh qui, chose curieuse, pria pour Mu`taḍ'id, comme s'il était le calife régnant, ou plutôt comme s'il n'y avait plus de calife digne de ce nom depuis sa mort."

so completely stationary. They assumed their peculiar form because of shifts in high politics, and because of tensions in Islamic thought, particularly with regard to the central problem of jihād.

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